

10026. 6. 11.

Rev^d. Dr Ingles
with C W Pugh's
Respects.

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REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES
IN THE
LIFE OF JONAS HANWAY, ESQ.
COMPREHENDING
AN ABSTRACT OF HIS TRAVELS IN RUSSIA,
AND PERSIA;
A SHORT HISTORY OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE CHARITABLE AND POLITICAL
INSTITUTIONS FOUNDED OR
SUPPORTED BY HIM;
SEVERAL ANECDOTES,
AND
AN ATTEMPT TO DELINEATE HIS CHARACTER.

By JOHN PUGH.

THE THIRD EDITION, CONSIDERABLY ABRIDGED.

He that never was acquainted with Adversity, hath seen the
World but on one Side, and is ignorant of half the Scenes of
Nature.
SIN.

LONDON:
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THE STRAND.

1798.



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE
COUNTESS DOWAGER SPENCER.

MADAM,

IT is with no common degree of satisfaction, now that the concurrent testimony of all into whose hands this little Tract has come hath pronounced it not quite unworthy, that I can presume to lay it at your Ladyship's feet.

You, Madam, who assisted Mr. Hanway in carrying on many of those

Plans which his confined fortune could not otherwise have matured ; who amidst the splendid allurements of elevated life could listen to his supplications in favour of distress which you yourself had not witnessed, will not receive with disdain this simple Tribute to his Memory.

It is right the world should know (though you, Madam, would wish to conceal it) how much his labours were indebted for their success to your benevolence : The GREAT would want one stimulative to the practice of virtue, if they were not shewn, by this instance, how consistent a solicitous regard for the situation of the humble, is with the most exalted rank in life ; That she who set an example to the Great and Affluent, is also a blessing to the Poor and Indigent : That the same maternal hand which fashioned and

and gave to Courts a degree of elegance, of grace, and animation, with which they were before unacquainted ; can descend to direct the education of the Poor, to the great ends of private happiness, and publick utility.

Gratitude joins with self-love in acknowledging that your Ladyship not only countenanced Mr. Hanway whilst living in his benevolent pursuits ; but likewise condescended to assist the Author of these sheets in this humble endeavour to extend the influence of his virtues beyond the limits of life.

May that good Providence which hath eminently favoured your exertions in promoting the happiness and welfare of every rank, still continue its protection : Your benevolent disposition will not cease, whilst it shall

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please Heaven to preserve your life,
irresistibly to lead your heart into
many anxieties; but that these may
be the only ones it will experience,
is the devout wish of,

Madam,

Your Ladyship's

most grateful

and obedient servant,

JOHN RUGHE.

April 30, 1788.

PREFACE

TO THE FORMER EDITIONS.

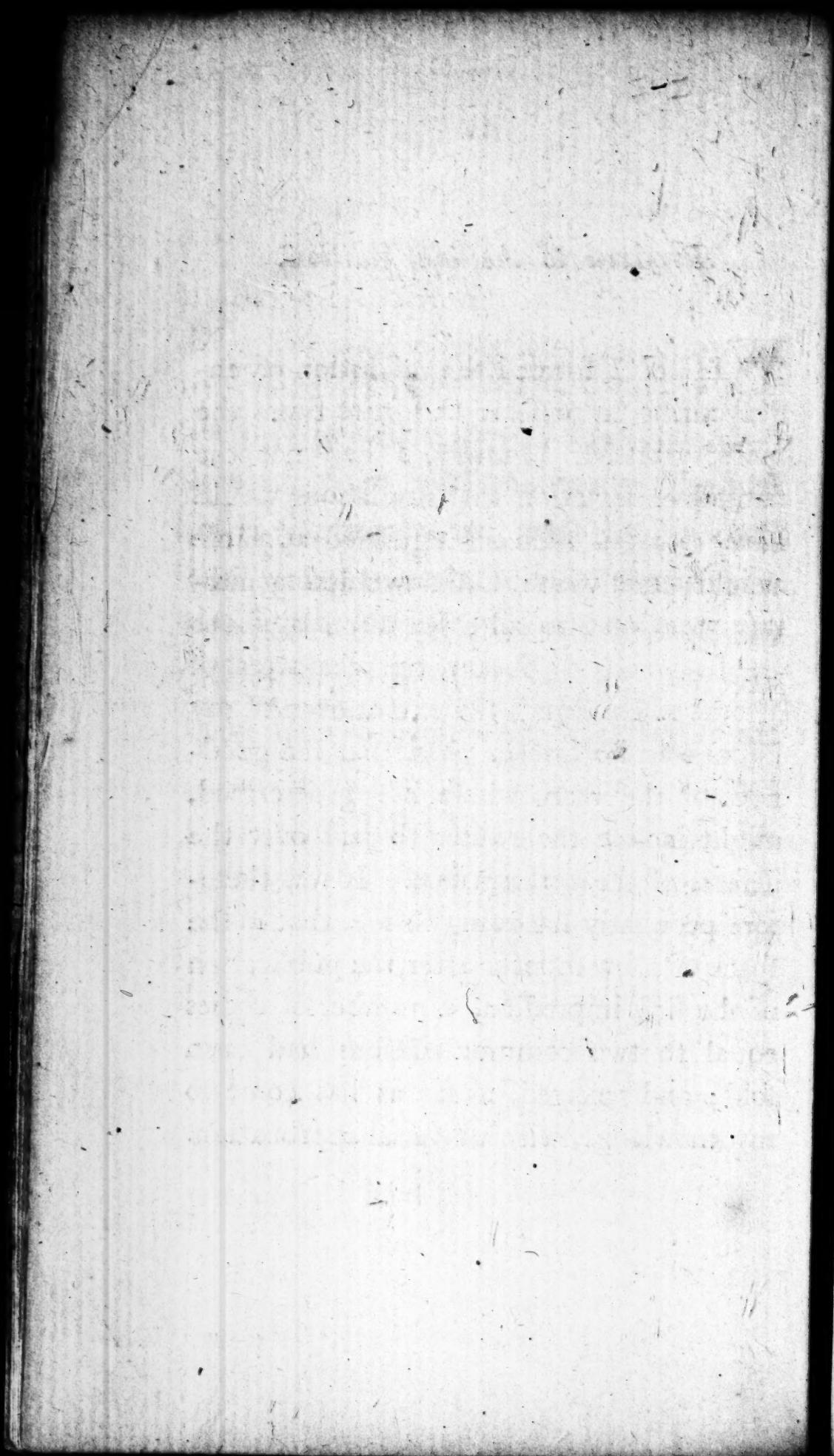
I SUBMIT the following sheets to the inspection of the public with all becoming deference. They are the produce of a few hours, which I have been able to spare, in broken and detached portions, from necessary business; and partake, I fear, very sufficiently of the distraction of thought, which such a mode of composition always occasions in some degree. But whatever may be their reception with the world, they have had the effect on my own mind to alleviate the sorrow which I felt at the loss of a most valuable patron and friend, under whose roof I resided from my early youth, and by whose counsel I have escaped many of the dangers to which youth is exposed.

Mr.

Mr. Hanway's life, particularly the latter years of it, was a course of such noble and benevolent actions, that it deserved to be transmitted to posterity by the most elegant pen ; but I believe no person possessed so many materials for the work as myself, and I have, with, perhaps, too much self-complacency, concluded that this would compensate for the want of adequate abilities.

Prefixed to the last Edition.

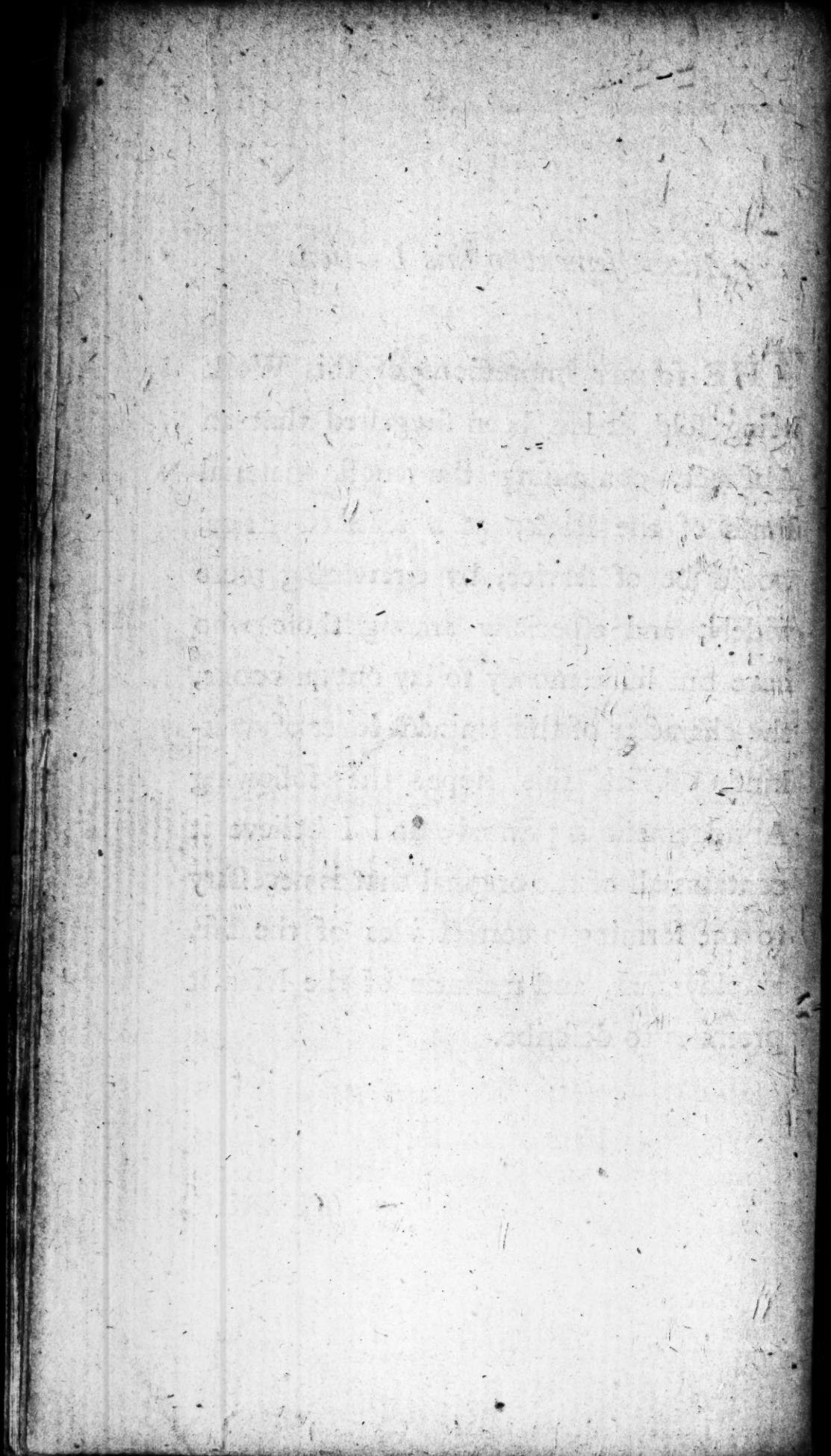
WHEN I formed the resolution of endeavouring to preserve to future times the memory of Mr. Hanway, I had not the faintest expectation that my labour would have obtained such distinguished applause as it has met with: Unknown among literary men, and to all those whose opinions are supposed to stamp the character of Works of this kind, the extent even of my hopes was no further than that the goodness of the man, whose life I described, might incline the reader to pass over the defects of the performance. It was therefore peculiarly flattering to me, that in the space of a few months after the publication of the first impression, a number of copies equal to two common editions had been sold; and received, as far as has come to my knowledge, with universal approbation.



Advertisement to this Edition.

THE former impressions of this Work being sold, it has been suggested that an Abstract, containing the most material Parts of the Book, at a reduced Price, would be of service, by circulating more widely, and especially among those who have but little money to lay out in books, the character of this eminent lover of mankind. With this hope, the following Abridgement is printed; and I believe it contains all of the original that is necessary to the forming a correct idea of the life, employment, and manners of the Man it promises to describe.

REMARK.





REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES

IN THE

L I F E

JONAS HANWAY, Esq.

THE life of a man eminent for disinterestedness in his own private concerns, and an unremitting attention to the welfare and happiness of others ; who devoted his time, his labour, and his fortune to the service of his fellow creatures, and made universal philanthropy the ruling principle of his action, cannot but be acceptable to all ; because it holds up, for imitation, an example of virtues, which all esteem, and which all may attain, if they resolve to take the means.

But Mr. Hanway's life was not confined merely to a round of actions, which,

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though

though excellent in themselves, are perhaps not the most interesting in the recital : Some years of the early part of it were spent in a country but imperfectly known to the English before his time. Persia, when he was there, was the theatre of the most remarkable transactions ; and the contemplative reader will not fail to compare in his mind the events of the present age, with those of the times of Cyrus and Darius, and feel an additional motive to revere that Providence in whose hand is the fate of mighty empires.

JONAS HANWAY, Esq. was born at Portsmouth, in Hampshire, on the 12th day of August, 1712. His father, Mr. Thomas Hanway, was an officer in the naval line, and for some years Agent Victualler at Portsmouth. He lost his life by an accident, and left his widow with four children, Jonas, William, Thomas, and Elizabeth, all of a very tender age.

Mrs. Hanway, thus deprived of her protector and support, and left to rear up
a young

a young family by her own exertions, removed with her children to London; and such was her maternal care and affection for them, that Mr. Hanway never spoke or wrote of his mother, but in terms of the highest reverence and gratitude.

William, in the early part of his life, had an appointment in the Navy-office. Thomas, pursuing his father's profession, in 1742 obtained a captain's commission, and distinguished himself in some engagements on the coast of Scotland in 1745, and in the two principal engagements of the succeeding war with France and Spain. In 1756, he was appointed commander in chief of his Majesty's ships at Plymouth, and in 1761 commissioner of the dock-yard at Chatham, which post he retained till his death in 1771. Elizabeth was married, first to Captain Worledge, and, after his death, to Mr. Townsend, and died in 1770.

Mr. Hanway's grandfather, Sir Jonas Moore, had an appointment in the Tower,

and wrote a very elaborate treatise on Mathematics. His uncle, by the father's side, Major John Hanway, translated several of the odes, satires, and epistles of Horace, and the works of other Latin poets, and was the author of some original verses in that language.

Another uncle, Captain James Hanway, was in the army, and remarkable for his superior skill as an engineer.

JONAS, the subject of this work, was put to school by his mother, in London, where he learned writing and accompts, and made some proficiency in Latin. At the age of seventeen he went over to Lisbon, and was bound apprentice to a merchant in that city.

His early life was marked with that discreet attention to business, and love of neatness and regularity, which distinguished his future character. At Lisbon his affections were captivated by a lady, then celebrated for her beauty and mental accomplishments; but she preferring another for her husband, returned to

England, and spent the latter part of her life in London with her family, on terms of friendship with Mr. Hanway.

On the expiration of Mr. Hanway's apprenticeship, he entered into business at Lisbon as a merchant or factor; but did not remain there long before he returned to London. From the time of his arrival in London, to the year 1743, when he went over with intention to settle at St. Petersburgh, nothing remarkable happened: But in this year he entered into an engagement which totally changed the course of his life; and was attended with occurrences truly remarkable. He had hitherto appeared only in the familiar light of a merchant; but we are now to view him in a new situation and a new character: to see with what perseverance and address he conducts himself amidst dangers and difficulties, not only new to himself, but such as fall o the lot of very few to encounter.

It is at this period that his "Travels" commence; and I flatter myself the re-

lation of this part of his life will be particularly acceptable, even to those who were not acquainted with him. I shall therefore endeavour to give a plain narrative of the most material occurrences, omitting those parts of the work which do not immediately relate to himself: and as the scene of these transactions was principally on the Caspian Sea, and the borders thereof, a chart is annexed of that vast lake, reduced from the original chart presented to Mr. Hanway by Captain Woodrooffe, his fellow traveller, which was taken by order of Nadir Shah, the Persian monarch.

In February, 1743, Mr. Hanway accepted the offer of a partnership in the house of Mr. Dingley, a merchant, at St. Petersburgh; and embarking in the river Thames in the April following, he arrived at St. Petersburgh the 10th of June. Here he first became acquainted with the Caspian trade, then in its infancy, and entertained an ardent desire to see Persia, a country so renowned for

extra-

extraordinary events in ancient and modern times.

As the trade to Persia has been attended with circumstances somewhat remarkable, and is connected with the subject of Mr. Hanway's adventures in that country, some account of it is necessary.

The opening a trade through Russia into Persia had, ever since the discovery of Archangel by the English, been considered as capable of procuring many advantages to this country; and attempts were made very early to effect it, but without any considerable progress. In 1738, John Elton, an English seaman, of a most enterprising genius, and who had spent four years among the roving Tartars, who inhabit the vast and uncultivated countries which lie between Bokhara, and the western boundaries of Siberia, made a proposal to some British factors at St. Petersburg, to introduce a trade through Russia into Persia, by way of the Caspian Sea, and represented that the

only tolerable safe way was down the river Volga, and along the Caspian to Astrabad, or some other port near the south-east extremity of that sea, and from thence to Mesched, the then favourite city of the Persian monarch ; from which place he conceived it practicable to extend it to the northern cities of the Mogul's empire.

Mr. Elton's proposal being accepted, in the year 1739 he set out from St. Petersburgh with a cargo of goods, and, after encountering many difficulties, arrived at Reshd, a city or principal town near the south-west extremity of the Caspian ; where, finding protection from the Shah's regent, he sold his cargo at a good price, without proceeding to Mesched as he originally intended ; and after having obtained a decree of the regent in favour of the new trade, he returned to St. Petersburgh.

In 1741, an act of the British parliament passed in favour of the trade, obtained in a great measure by the representa-

presentations made by Mr. Elton to the honourable Mr. Fynch, at that time his Britannick Majesty's minister at St. Petersburgh ; and in 1742 Mr. Elton went again into Persia, commander of one of two ships built by the factors for the more effectually carrying into execution their plan ; but actuated by ambition, or disgusted at some part of his principals' conduct, he deserted the cause he was engaged in, and entered into the service of the usurper Nadir Shah, as "Superintendant of the Persian coast of the Caspian," with design to build ships in the European manner, for the navigation of that sea.

This desertion of the principal agent in the design gave great offence to the Russian court, and alarmed the factors so much, that they determined to send one of their company into Persia, to superintend the trade ; and Mr. Hanway, on his own voluntary offer, was agreed on as the person. His known integrity and perseverance, joined to the

interest he had in the trade, gave the other factors great hopes of success through his means ; and they trusted their enterprise to his conduct with implicit confidence.

On the 10th of September, 1743, after making the necessary disposition for his journey, he set out from St. Petersburgh, with an interpreter, who had been before in that part of Persia into which he was going, a clerk, a Russian menial servant, a Tartar boy, and a guard ; having under his care a caravan of thirty-seven bales of English cloth, making twenty carriage loads, and arrived at Moscow, then but lately the capital of Russia, in ten days from his departure, the distance being 734 wersts, or 487 English miles.

" It is too much the custom in Russia
 " for officers, or persons who travel with
 " servants or soldiers, to treat the peo-
 " ples with insolence ;" but the first
 charge Mr. Hanway gave his attendants
 was, to avoid every occasion of dispute,
 and

and still more of oppression; and that if any insult was offered to them, they should inform him, that he might judge in what manner it ought to be resented.

On the 24th of September he left Moscow: and the seventh day after, entered the Step, (the common name in Russia for a desert,) and arrived, October the 9th, at Zaritzen, a city on the western banks of the Volga, 688 English miles distant from Moscow. At this place he procured a vessel, with proper persons to navigate her down the Volga to Astrachan, the metropolis of a province situate on the other side the river, within the limits of Asia, at the distance of sixty English miles from its disemboguement into the Caspian Sea; and leaving Zaritzen the 8th of November, proceeded on his voyage.

"The river Volga, (anciently called the Rha) is," says Mr. Hanway, "for extent, one of the noblest in the world: it derives its source from the lake Fernoff, in the province of Reskoff,

" running, according to general computation,
 " near 3000 English miles before
 " it empties itself into the Caspian. The
 " immense quantities of water which this
 " river receives from others, and from
 " many hilly countries, from whence
 " descend great torrents, particularly
 " when the snow melts in the Spring,
 " are the cause of its swelling at different
 " times and places. The sailors who
 " navigate this river, are remarkable for
 " their dexterity in *warping*. They have
 " three boats to carry out the warps,
 " which they take in forward, and at the
 " same time they coil the warp from the
 " stern into the boat, while the other
 " two boats are a-head laying fresh warps.
 " The vessels sometimes carry from 150
 " to 200 men; and as their bigness pre-
 " vents their sailing, except the wind be
 " very fair, they warp thirty miles a
 " day against the stream, which is very
 " rapid."

The danger of this voyage down the
 Volga will appear, when the nature of
 the

the country, and the structure of the vessels are known. The Russian government authorising vassalage, and giving one man a property in the person and labour of another, no vassal can leave the dominions of his lord without his permission, and must return home, no matter how far off, or how difficult the journey, by the time limited : Those who fail, dreading the severe punishment which awaits them, frequently turn pirates ; and, joining themselves to the *Khalmuck Tartars*, rob on the river. They go in gangs of thirty, forty, or even eighty persons, in row-boats, equipped with fire arms ; and their piracy is commonly attended with the murder of the unfortunate who fall into their hands. The punishment inflicted on these wretches, when taken, is suitable to the cruelties they practise on others : A float is built, with a gallows erected thereon, and they are stripped naked, and with their hands pinioned behind, hung up by the ribs on hooks, and set afloat on the river ;

river ; and it is a capital offence for any person to relieve or put an end, by death, to their tortures. They remain alive, in this dreadful situation, three, four, and sometimes five days, imploring water with the greatest earnestness, and appear to die in a raging fever.

The Khalmucks do not sow or reap, or make hay for their cattle, which are horses, camels, cows, and sheep. Their food is flesh, that of horses being preferred, fish, wild fowl, and venison, with milk, preserved in various ways ; but mare's milk is most esteemed among them, and from it they extract a strong spirit of which they are exceeding fond. They are low of stature, with broad faces, flat noses, and small black eyes. In action their head is defended by a piece of very flexible iron net-work. Every winter they come in the number of 100,000 persons to the plains of Astrachan, and receive a present, or rather tribute, of food from that city, which serves them, till spring, all at once, after

the melting of the snow, unlocks the treasures of the earth and waters.

With respect to the vessels in use on this river, they are without knees, have but few beams, and their decks are only loose pieces of bark. In place of tar, slips of bark are nailed over the seams, to prevent the caulking from falling out.

On board one of these fragile vessels, on the 14th of October, Mr. Hanway embarked on this vast river. He was surprised to see the banks marked in some places twenty feet above the water; but was told by the boatmen that the river rose in spring to that height. On the 19th he arrived at Astrachan, where he was courteously received by Mr. Thompson, agent at that place to the British merchants trading to Persia; and after remaining about three weeks, and procuring all the information he could of the voyage along the Caspian, he left Astrachan, and fell down to Yerkie, at the mouth of the Volga, the place where all vessels take their departure from, and which

which they endeavour to make on their return.

The Caspian Sea, at which he was now arrived, extends (from Yaeck, in 46 deg. 15 min. north latitude, to Astrabad, which is in 36 deg. 50 min.) 9 deg. 25 min. or 646 English miles; its breadth is very various, and its circumference has been measured to 3525 werfts. The water of the Caspian is as salt as that of the ocean; but there is no tide. At Derbend, on the western side, there was formerly a watering place. Shamakie is the most populous city in these parts, having factories from the eastern nations, which occasions it to be much resorted to.

From the coast on this side the Caspian may be plainly seen the high mountains of Caucasus. The mountains of Taurus and Ararat are so contiguous, as to appear like a continuation of the same mountain; but Ararat is one vast rock, exceeding Caucasus in height: Its top is covered with snow throughout the year.

The

The Armenians, who call it Messina, pretend that there are still some remains of the Ark, which they say rested here after the deluge ; but that by the length of time they are become petrified.

At Baku is seen, what the Persians call "The Everlasting Fire," an object of their devotion, and a phænomenon of a very surprising nature : About ten miles from the city are several ancient small temples, about fifteen feet high ; in one of these, where the Indians now worship, is a large cane fixed in the earth, about three feet remaining in sight, from the end of which issues a blue flame, not unlike that of a lamp burning with spirits, but seemingly more pure. Here are generally forty or fifty poor devotees, who come on a pilgrimage, to make expiation for their own sins, and the sins of their countrymen, and they continue the longer according to the number of persons for whom they have engaged to pray.

A little way from the temple is a cleft in the rock, about six feet long and three broad,

broad, out of which issues a constant pure flame; when the wind blows it rises sometimes eight feet high, but is much lower in still weather.

“ The earth for above two miles round this place, has this surprizing property, that by taking up two or three inches of the surface, and applying a live coal, the part which is so uncovered immediately takes fire. If a cane or tube, even of paper, be set about two inches in the ground, and the top of it touched with fire, immediately a flame issues without hurting the cane or paper.”

The river Kura or Cyrus, which is joined by the river Araxis, is the most considerable river on the western coast. Not far from Keflar stands the mountain Barmach, remarkable for the oil called Naptha, which issues from it into thirty different pits, all within the compass of a musquet shot of each other. The river Oxus, on the opposite shore, is now about a musquet shot broad at its mouth. The lake

lake or gulph Karabogaski is about two wersts broad at its inlet : Some people concluded, as the Caspian is never found to rise, notwithstanding the immense quantities of water that fall into it from the rivers and hills at the melting of the snow, that the water had an outlet in this gulph ; but the gulph is as calm as any part of the sea. The country near this coast from near Astrabad to Kulalie, the boundary of Turkumania, is inhabited by rude and inhospitable Tartars, with whom no commerce has been had. From the province of Astrabad to the mouth of the Volga, along the eastern coast of the Caspian, a tract of 1200 miles, not a house is found except only at Yaeck. The river Yaeck is about 100 fathoms broad. The shore from this river to Yerkie is very shallow and over-grown with reeds for some miles into the sea. In these reeds are bred an innumerable quantity of water fowls of various descriptions.

November the 22d. Mr. Hanway embarked on board the *Empress of Russia*, one of the two ships built by the factors, commanded by Capt. Woodrooffe, and was much pleased to find himself in a good vessel, regularly built, and, probably, the first complete ship which had appeared on the Caspian. They sailed from Yerkie, and traversing the whole length of the sea from north to south, arrived, December the third, at Langarood, a bay at the south-west extremity of the Caspian, the then residence of Captain Elton, by whom he was kindly received; and after having remained seven days with him, he set sail for Astrabad, in the south-east corner of the Caspian. As they steered eastward, the sky brightened, and the air, which had before been cold and wet, became gentle and warm. They were four days in sight of the great Peak or mountain Demoan; which, although said to be thirty leagues within land, they could distinguish very plain at the distance

tance of four or five leagues from the shore.

On the 18th of December they arrived in the bay of Astrabad. Here, as in other parts of the Caspian, the sea had made great inroads. Many trunks of trees lay on the shore, and made it difficult of access. They anchored at half a league distance from the land, and Mr. Hanway dispatched the Armenian, to inquire if the goods might be landed with safety; but he returned unable to procure any information. The people on the coast having been frequently plundered by the Ogurt-joy and Russian pirates, and seeing so large a vessel in their road, were under great apprehensions for their own safety.

On the 20th, however, Mr. Hanway went on shore. The stumps of the trees and shallows made it difficult for a long-boat to land nearer than twenty yards. Having satisfied the people that they were friends, he was received by them on the shore, and conducted, by many crooked paths, through a thick wood, to a small village.

village. He sent the interpreter to the city, which was about eight hours distant, to pay his respects to Mahommed Zamor Beg, the governor of Astrabad, and to request his protection. In the evening the messenger returned : The governor promised his protection ; but charged Mr. Hanway, in a very particular manner, not to repose any confidence in the peasants on the coast.

Whilst the ship remained in the bay, she was in some danger of being burned : A quantity of raw cotton which lay in the steerage, and was intended for the repackage of the bales of cloth in a proper manner for camel and horse carriage, was set on fire by the carelessness of one of the seamen ; but was with some difficulty extinguished before the fire reached the powder chest.

At night the woods on the mountains took fire, and the wind feeding the flame, made a dreadful blaze, which extended several miles, and by its heat made the butter on board the ship run like oil :

The

The accident proved to have been occasioned by burning rushes on the coast, to destroy the insects which breed in them.

And now having accompanied Mr. Hanway till his safe arrival in Persia, it will not be improper to inquire into the state of that kingdom at the time.

"Persia is bounded by the mountains of Ararat on the north-west; by the Caspian sea, which divides it from Russia, on the north; by the river Oxus, which divides it from Usbeck Tartary, on the north east; by India on the east, and by the Indian ocean, and the gulphs of Persia and Ormus on the south; and by Arabia and Turkey on the west."

In the year 1402, Tamerlane, the Tartar chief, having subdued Persia, died, leaving a succession of kings till 1500, after which the family of the Seffies possessed the throne for the space of about 220 years, until Maghmud, an Afghan chief, taking advantage of the indolence and timidity of Shah Sultan Houssein, the last

last prince of that family, procured himself to be seated on the throne.

Maghmud reigned until 1725, when he was in his turn deposed and murdered by Ashreff, who succeeded him in the diadem; and on the fifteenth of January, 1730, Ashreff was defeated in a pitched battle by the famous Tehmas Nadir Kouli, who had been raised to the rank of general to the legitimate heir of Houssein. In 1736 Nadir procured himself to be crowned Shah or king, under the title of Nadir Shah.

The father of this famous usurper was an obscure Tartar, who procured a scanty subsistence by making sheep-skin coats; and when he died, Nadir was used to gather sticks in the woods, and carry them to market on an afs, and a camel, which were his only patrimony. He was afterwards a robber; then a courier in the service of a Beg; and by the most enormous ambition, treachery, and murders, obtained the diadem and the complete conquest of the Persians, whom he ruled with the greatest

greatest rigour, oppression, and cruelty; depriving them of their possessions, and even lives, with unexampled wantonness, and spreading desolation and misery all around him.

Such was the state of this fruitful and once splendid country, when Mr. Hanway arrived with his caravan in the city of Astrabad. Whilst he was employed in repacking his goods in a way proper for land carriage, he had opportunities of conversing with the inhabitants on the distressed state of the country, and the prospect before him. The Armenian interpreter, who had before been robbed near Mesched, now began to express fears of the danger they should be exposed to in the journey to that city; but as he had before been silent, and did not now point out any particular danger, Mr. Hanway did not think it necessary to pay great attention to his representations.

On the fifth he prepared to wait on the governor; and having no equipage to

make a proper appearance, Naseer Aga, in whose house he was lodged, lent him a horse handsomely caparisoned, and insisted on his taking his servants to attend him as well as his own. The present to the governor, consisting of several cuts of fine cloth, and some loaves of sugar, was carried in before him. On his entrance, he found the governor attended by many persons of the first distinction in the city, among whom were Mahommed Hassan Beg, son of the late Fately Ali Khan Khajar, who had been put to death by Nadir, Mahommed Khan Beg, and Sadoc Aga, the two last the sons of Khans in high favour with the Shah. They all rose up at his coming in, and the governor bade him welcome to Persia, adding, in the true eastern style of compliment, "that the city " of Astrabad was now his to do what " he pleased with it." To this a suitable answer was made on the part of Mr. Hanway, who requested his assistance and protection; and after some further

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discourse, in which the governor assured him the passage to Mesched from thence was perfectly safe, and promised to send some of his soldiers to escort him thither, Mr. Hanway took his leave.

Naseer Aga, of whose humanity and politeness he had received such signal proof, was now a venerable old man, of a serious but inviting aspect. He had been the companion of Nadir, when he was the chief of a band of robbers in the neighbouring mountains; but he was too good a man for Nadir's purpose; and the mediocrity of his fortune, and his want of ambition, had secured him from the calamities which usually fell on such of Nadir's favourites, as professed any regard to justice or conscience.

Having agreed for camels and horses to carry his merchandise, with some difficulty on account of the mercenary and deceitful temper of the natives, he prepared to set forward on his journey to Mesched; but the drivers, some days after their agreement, represented that, as the

camels could not keep pace with the horses, it would be adviseable to load and send them off some days before he departed himself with the horses. It was with great reluctance that he consented to the separation of his company, especially as the behaviour of the drivers gave him no very favourable idea of their fidelity; but, urged by the necessity of the case, and the representations of his new friend Naseer Aga, he consented to load forty bales on ten camels, and sent them forward, fixing four days after for his own departure with the rest of the merchandize on the horses.

He then made another visit to the governor, who, to his great mortification, behaved to him in a very distant manner, and acquainted him that he could spare but one soldier to escort him: His mind appeared to be clouded with some great perplexity, which as Mr. Hanway could not develope, he took his leave, without thinking very deeply about it.

The day after that on which the forty bales of cloth had been sent away, the city of Astrabad was alarmed with the rumour of an insurrection of the neighbouring people : Signals were made to call the inhabitants and their cattle within the walls ; the shops were shut, and the men prepared for defence. It was found that Mahomed Hassan Beg had left the city in secret, and now appeared in arms at the head of a party of the provincials, with an auxiliary body of Turkuman Tartars, declaring that they meant to possess themselves of the Shah's treasure, which was then lodged in the city, and of the European goods ; and to further their rash designs they gave out that the Shah was dead.

A city besieged and incapable of defence, a weak and faithless garrison, and the general report that the Turkuman Tartars were the most savage of the human race, and would, in all probability, put Mr. Hanway to the sword, were circumstances of no common apprehension. His

attendants advised him to disguise himself in a Persian habit, and escape from the city; but as he was at a distance from the bay, and if he should be able to reach it, the ship would probably have sailed, he determined to remain with his merchandize in the city, in his proper character, which he was best able to support, and in which, if it should be so decreed, he thought it most honourable to die.

The dastardly governor had already fled from the city, disguised like a peasant, and mounted behind a real peasant. Those among the inhabitants who were not inclined to commotion, now cursed Mr. Hanway as the cause of their misfortune, by bringing so valuable a caravan into the city, to attract the avarice of the rebels.

Nothing can display a man's character for courage and address more truly than his behaviour in a situation like this, because it has danger enough to prevent every kind of artificial deportment; and

Mr.

Mr. Hanway's conduct at this juncture was such as he could always after reflect on with pleasure and satisfaction. After making, with great deliberation, the best disposition of his servants and effects to receive the invaders, whom he saw it was impossible to resist, he directed a watch to be kept all night, that he might not be surprised. In the evening he retired to his apartment, to prepare his own mind for any event that might happen; and, as it was his usual practice to commit all his material thoughts to writing, he entered in his journal a prayer to this effect :

“ O God, thou hast been my succour through all the perils and vicissitudes of my life: If it is thy good pleasure yet to preserve that life, let all my future hopes, and all my wishes, centre in thee alone. Let the remembrance of thy mercies inspire my mind with the most ardent love, the most exalted gratitude. Let the tender laws of humanity ever possess my

" soul. But if it is thy will that I now
 " render back this vital heat which sprang
 " from thee: if thy gracious providence
 " has ordained that my life be now
 " brought to an end by these unthink-
 " ing men; thy will be done; Avert,
 " O Lord, the destruction that threatens
 " them, and lay not my blood to their
 " charge! Succour me in the secret paths
 " of death, and receive me into the glory,
 " which thou hast prepared for thy ser-
 " vants."

With these meditations he retired to rest, and was awaked at four in the morning, after a sleep of five hours, by a smart but irregular fire of musquetry. A silence ensued, and the city was given up to Mahommed Haffan Beg. Noise and merriment seemed necessary to support the spirits of the insurgents: They seized the city drums; and a large party went about beating them, and hallooing. Zadoc Aga, who was now appointed a Sirdar or general, with Mahommed Khan Beg, both young men of more fire than judgment,

ment, headed a party of men, and came to the house in which Mr. Hanway resided. He had collected his attendants in a room together, from whence he sent the Tartar boy to conduct these hostile visitors to him. He entreated them that, as he was now at their mercy, they would behave to him with humanity. They declared they did not mean to hurt his person; but on the contrary, as soon as ever *their government* was established, they would pay for the goods which they then seized; and informed him the forty bales, sent out laden on the camels, were already in their possession.

" As gold," says Mr. Hanway on this occasion, " can purchase every thing, except virtue and wealth, understanding and beauty; when my money was demanded, I reserved a purse of 160 crowns in gold, thinking it might administer to our safety:" but he soon found that his security was in his supposed poverty; for in three weeks distress which suc-

ceeded, he durst not shew a single piece of gold.

Some days after, two Turkuman chiefs were introduced to him by the newly made governor Baba Zadoc, who asked the Persians in his hearing: " You give us the merchandize of the Russians, will you not give us the Russians also? They will do well to tend our sheep!" They were pacified by the natives; but the knowledge this gave Mr. Hanway of their disposition, determined him to quit the place as soon as any opportunity should present itself. Several of the Turkumans at different times, intruded themselves into his house pretending a curiosity to see him; but he afterwards learned, their real intention was to consult by what means they might carry him off.

The perplexity he observed in the councils and conduct of the insurgents, joined to the knowledge he had of the force and disposition of the Shah, gave him

him very unfavourable presages of their approaching fate; and he was firmly of opinion their reign could continue but a very short time. Every way, however, he saw danger threatening himself: If they retreated from the city, they might carry him with them into the inhospitable deserts of Turkumania, or destroy him for their own convenience or safety; and if they succeeded, the Turkuman party would increase, and he might be carried a slave into their country.

But even in these perturbed times, there were not wanting some among the inhabitants of Astrabad, whose love of justice and humanity convinced them, that, whatever motives they might have to rebel against the Shah, they had no right to rob a stranger; and some of these gave him information, and even assisted, as far as was safe, in his preservation.

After experiencing much of the insults, and wanton cruelty, of the rebels, he determined to leave Astrabad at all events, although its environs were infested with

flying parties of the Tartars, and seek the protection of the Shah, who was reported to be near Ghilan with his army. This intention he thought it advisable to conceal with the utmost precaution ; but he directed his interpreter to deliver to Mahommed Haffan Beg, an account of the value of the goods, and to demand a bill for the amount ; which he obtained of him, and an engagement to provide ten armed men to escort him to Ghilan.

On the twenty-fourth of January he left Astrabad under convoy of a Hahdgee [*a general title bestowed on all who have made a pilgrimage to Mecca,*] who had been introduced to him by Naseer Aga on his first arrival, his brother and two sons, and about twenty armed villagers ; and arrived, after a few days journey, at a small town belonging to the Hahdgee. His brother, whose character did not appear to be very amiable, would have conducted him to his house, which he said was in the adjacent mountains ; but he had

had experienced too much of Persian infidelity to trust himself in such a situation. The Hahdgee, who had been acquainted with the circumstances of the rebellion at the time of Mr. Hanway's first arrival, and seduced him to remain in the city, merely that he might partake in the spoil of his effects, supposing that he was yet possessed of some things of value, thought it would be inconsistent with his interest to suffer him to carry them off; and he exerted all the cunning of his country to obtain them. He even declared the carriers should not proceed, unless Mr. Hanway left his baggage with him; and he was constrained to deliver up the greater part, taking care to conceal about his person as much of value as was possible.

They then proceeded on their journey, through pathless woods, over ditches and hills, taking care to keep the least frequented way, and lying in the open fields. In their way they passed by the ruins of the palace of Farabad, once famous for the residence of the Persian kings. The carriers

riers had engaged to conduct him to Bal-
frush, the capital of the province of Me-
sanderan ; but hearing that the Shah's ad-
miral was levying forces to oppose the
Astrabad rebels, they refused to proceed
any further. He requested they would at
least convey him to a place where horses
or some other cattle might be procured ;
but this also they refused, alledging that
he was near the coast, and might go by
sea. Accordingly, they conducted him
and his attendants to a fisherman's hut,
on the sea coast : The poor man had only
an open boat, like a canoe, very leaky,
and barely large enough to admit six per-
sons ; besides it could be navigated only
with oars or paddles near the shore, where
the surf then ran very high ; and the sand
banks forming breakers, made the sea still
more dangerous. He, therefore, again im-
plored the carriers to furnish horses ac-
cording to their engagement, but they
treated his request with contempt. He
threatened to use force ; whereupon two
of them, being armed with matchlocks,
lighted

lighted their matches; two others had bows and arrows, and all of them, being six in number, had sabres. Mr. Hanway collected his company, among whom were four musquets, a blunderbuss, and a pair of pistols: but as he could not depend on more than two of his servants, after a short parley, he submitted to run the risk of being drowned, rather than engage in a fray, where no other advantage could be obtained, than a precarious use of horses, through a country utterly unknown to him; and if he should fall, the cause in which he had embarked must fall with him.

Trusting, therefore, to Providence, he embarked in the boat with his servants; and with much fatigue and danger, favoured by the winds, he arrived safe at Teschidezar, in the next province; and learning that the Shah's officers were there collecting their forces, he begged their protection: The chief sent him a horse handsomely caparisoned, with four mules for his servants; and on the thirtieth he arrived at Balfrush, where he was assured

by

by the Persian Merchants, that the Shah would certainly make good his loss*. Mahomed Khan, the admiral, told him he might think himself fortunate in having escaped with life; and recommended to him to continue his rout by water to Ghilan; and, indeed, so unable was the force at that time with the admiral to oppose the Tartars, who were then in the neighbourhood, that they all prepared for flight, and Mr. Hanway saw that he had no alternative but to wait and receive his conquerors a second time, or to depart unprotected, without guides or attendants. He applied to Mahomed Khan for horses, who promised to supply him, but, after many prevarications, sent him one mortally distempered, and exceedingly poor in

* It was this escape which gave Mr. Hanway the first idea of his motto. When he returned to England, he had painted on his chariot, a man dressed in the Persian habit, just landed in a storm on a rude coast, and leaning on his sword, his countenance calm and resigned. In the back ground was depicted a boat, beat about by the billows: in front, a shield charged with his arms leaning against a tree, and underneath, the motto in English, " NEVER DESPAIR."

flesh.

flesh. He was in some doubt whether he should accept the beast; but at length he determined on his mode of proceeding: He took an affectionate leave of his interpreter and servants; and leaving with them the rebels' passport, and what money he could spare, he recommended them to the protection of Providence, and set out alone on his journey. The Tartars were entering the city at one gate, when he went out at the other. After some time, he fell in with a party, who conducted the baggage of the admiral, and himself soon followed; but it was not possible for him to keep pace with them. The poor Tartar boy, attached to him with more sincerity than his other servants, had followed him on foot; and when he fainted, Mr. Hanway took him up behind him; but before they had rode six miles, the horse's hind quarters gave way, and they were both obliged to dismount.

In this situation, without guide, and understanding but little of the language, it was with great difficulty he explored his way

way to the coast once more. He now found it necessary to put on the meanest appearance possible: His clothes were worn out and in tatters. They had several rivers to pass; but pleading poverty, they were carried over gratis. He had retained the greatest part of the money he had concealed at Astrabad, but dared not to shew it. At length the admiral's company halting, he got up with them again, and was joined by his clerk and servant, who had fortunately procured horses.

The next day he sent to the admiral for other cattle, who ordered them; but demanding more than five times their value, he refused to take them, and procured some of another person. The admiral now made a feint, as if he meant to stop the progress of the insurgents, who were advancing in pursuit of him, and ordered all the avenues to be guarded. Mr. Hanway had then not eaten any thing for near forty hours, except a few parched pease which he had by chance in his pocket; and was driven to beg of the peasants, what he
dared

dared not buy, for fear of exciting their avarice, by a shew of his money.

In the night, although the admiral had promised not to march without him, he quitted the place with all his baggage, leaving Mr. Hanway and his servants behind, without the least provision, and unprotected. Trusting to Providence, he again determined to follow the admiral, whom, fortunately, he overtook. In a dark and tempestuous night, in which, however, he had, with great difficulty, been able to keep pace with the baggage horses, until he was quite spent; urged by despair, he seized the bridle of the horse on which the admiral himself was mounted, and pronounced the word *Shah* with the utmost emphasis. The determined seriousness of this action brought the Persian to that sense of duty, which his promise, or the dictates of humanity, had not effected: He halted, and ordered his Visior to take him up behind him, till he afterwards procured a horse for himself; and one of the carriers had compassion on the faithful

faithful Tartar boy, and took him up. The clerk and servant had yet strength to walk; but the former, after a few miles, not able to proceed, begged Mr. Hanway to relieve him with the use of his horse, to which he consented, till his own fatigue obliged him to dismount his fellow traveller; and from that time he saw no more of his clerk till some days after his arrival in Ghilan.

The apprehensions of the admiral, who knew the cruel disposition of the Turkuman Tartars, hurried him on from seven in the evening till the same hour next morning; and, after a short refreshment, till four in the afternoon, amidst a continued rain and tempest. Mr. Hanway was more than once overcome with sleep and fatigue; but still it was his good fortune to get up with his company again.

On the morning of the 4th of February, intelligence was received that a body of Tartars had been at the house the admiral had slept at; and in the rout between the confines of a wood and the sea shore,

the

the advanced guard gave the alarm, as if a body of Tartars had been posted in the wood; the courageous admiral immediately changed his clothes for mean ones; and preparing for battle, gave orders to fire in upon them. Wheh Mr. Hanway came up, he found five miserable Afghan recruits, who had been travelling towards the Shah's camp, weltering in their blood, and expiring of the wounds they had received. The next day and night they travelled twenty hours. The inroads of the Caspian, and the torrents from the mountains, had formed many channels, some of which were hardly fordable; and the surge on the sea shore, near which they were sometimes obliged to pass, threw down several of the horses, and their riders were in danger of being drowned. On the 7th the admiral thought himself out of danger, and relaxed a little in his pace.

It is not the custom in eastern countries for any man to come near the women, except their lord; but circumstances had happened in this expedition which prevented

vented a strict regard to distinctions; and Mr. Hanway had more than once the office (not a very dignified one in Persia) of guarding the admiral's women, who accompanied him in this expedition.

He had now passed through the whole province of Mesanderan, but such had been his distress, and the inclemency of the weather, that in twenty-three days he had not enjoyed an hour of security or unbroken sleep. He was drawing near to Langarood, which he had left seven weeks before; and Captain Elton hearing that he was on the road, sent a servant with horses to meet him, and received him with open arms, congratulated him on his having escaped with his life, and confidently assured him that the Shah would cause justice to be done him.

After a few days his clerk and servant, who had been left behind, were brought in by Captain Elton's servants: The clerk appeared as a man expiring in a lingering consumption; he had been two days and three nights exposed to the weather without

out shelter or food, and five times robbed, till he was left nearly naked. The interpreter arrived about three weeks after: He had obtained a passport from Sadoc Aga, under his seal, the style of which, considering all circumstances, conveys a curious idea of the folly of the times: It was in these words:

" TO THE VICTORIOUS ARMIES BE
 " IT KNOWN, THAT MATTEUSE, THE
 " ARMENIAN, IS HERE: LET HIM NOT
 " BE MOLESTED, BUT LIVE UNDER
 " OUR SHADOW."

When Mr. Hanway arrived at Langarood, his feet and legs were much swelled; his clothes had not been put off for a long time, and having no opportunity of attending to the natural delicacy of his constitution, he found his health much impaired. After staying some days with Captain Elton, to refresh his wearied spirits, he took his leave, and set out for Reshd, where he arrived on the 19th, and with difficulty procured an interview with the governor of the province, who informed him

him the Shah was expected to be in Turkey, or near the borders of Syria, in a short time; on which he determined to continue his journey in search of him: and having provided fresh clothes, horses, and tents, and firelocks and sabres for his five attendants, he set out from Reshd, and on the 2d of March arrived, very near blind with the reflection of the snow which lay on the ground, at Casbin, where was a new palace built by Nadir Shah.

This city is famous for having been the residence of many of the ancient kings of Persia: It was one of the chief cities of Parthia, and the burial place of Hephestion, the favourite of Alexander the Great; but it was now almost ruined, and the inhabitants were reduced to distress by the cruel oppression of Nadir.

March 11th, the weather having become mild, and the snow being in a great measure dissolved, Mr. Hanway joined a company going to the camp of the Shah, who was reported to be marching towards Hamadan. On the road they passed by the skeletons

skeletons of several camels, whose flesh had been devoured by wolves, and saw all the way the miserable effects of Nadir's tyranny, in the extreme distress of the inhabitants. The whole appeared a scene of desolation; and the people taking them for robbers, or soldiers, which were as bad, fled to the mountains, and left them to provide for themselves.

Mr. Hanway now discovered that all his Persian fellow travellers were in the custody of a messenger, who was conducting them to the camp; and such was the terror which Nadir's cruelty had excited, that this single person kept eight or ten officers of distinction, with all their servants, prisoners.

On the 20th they arrived at the Shah's camp, and Mr. Hanway pitched his tent near the royal standard, which was no sooner done, than an accident happened that was very near preventing him from ever telling his adventures. He had ordered the fire arms to be placed round the inside of the tent; and while he was standing up, one of the firelocks, which in Persia have

no guard to the trigger, went off, and carried two slugs through the top of the tent, just over his head. The tent being of cotton was set on fire, but no notice was taken of the accident.

Mr. Hanway, immediately on his arrival in the camp, delivered into the chancery, his petition, praying to be reimbursed the value of his caravan; and whilst he waited to receive an answer, he had leisure to make observations on the objects before him. He visited every part of the Shah's camp, informed himself of the manner of conducting his wars, transacting the business of state, of his force, amusements, and character.

Such was the disgust which the tyranny of Nadir had excited in the breasts of the Persians, and so many rebellions against his government were on foot, that the utmost exertion was necessary on his part to counteract them. He was in his tent of audience from seven in the morning till ten at night, except retiring for very short intervals.

In placing the camp, the tents of the ministers and principal officers were in the front, or to the right and left of the Shah's quarters, that some of them might be always near him. The circuit of the Shah's own tents was very large; the entrance consisted on one side of a line of uniform tents, serving for guard-rooms, and on the other of the tents in which the affairs of the chancery, and the like public concerns, were transacted. About two hundred yards beyond this avenue was the pavilion in which the Shah usually sat to give audience, and transact business; the front was always open, even in the worst weather; but when it was extremely cold, several pots of charcoal were set in the middle. Behind the pavilion were placed the Shah's private tents, to which were admitted only his secret emissaries, when they had any remarkable intelligence to communicate. Near these were the tents of the Shah's ladies; and the whole was surrounded by a fence, round which the night guard patrolled, and severely punish-

ed any who were found near the quarter of the women. None but the officers in immediate waiting were admitted into the royal pavillion: The officers of state and people of business stood in the open air in all weathers, forming a semicircle in front of the tent.

The market, which was well supplied with provisions, apparel, horse furniture, and other necessaries, was about half a mile long, consisting of tents on each side like a street. The shopkeepers of consequence were generally under the protection of some of the principal courtiers, who took care to be interested in the profits, particularly of flour and rice, of which there was always a great consumption. The Shah often inquired into the prices of provisions, and reduced them as he thought proper, fining the market people upon every transgression.

The two imperial standards, although it required twelve men to move them, were lengthened in the staffs by Nadir, and made still heavier, to prevent their being carried off

off by the enemy, except in an entire defeat. The Shah had about sixty women, and nearly the same number of eunuchs, who, in a journey, generally rode near his person ; before him were his running footmen and body guards, spreading a mile or two : These gave notice of his approach, and cleared the way. When he travelled with his women, the army was kept at almost a mile distance.

Nadir's standing forces were computed at 200,000 men ; to support which, Persia had been ruined, and India spoiled of one hundred and seventy millions sterling, and near three hundred thousand souls. He thought a soldier always fought better when he had something to lose, therefore encouraged the wearing of costly furniture, particularly for the horse. He himself had four complete sets, one mounted with pearls, another with rubies, a third with emeralds, and the last with diamonds, most of which were of a prodigious size ; but set in a barbarous taste, several being bored through,

Cosmin Khan, the chancellor, was employed, whilst Mr. Hanway was in Persia, in writing the history of Nadir's wars; but no account of the completion of the work has appeared: which is not, perhaps, much to be regretted, as Nadir had a fight of it from time to time in its progress.

The Turkish language is the most common in Persia. In matters of learning they use the Arabian, in which is preserved the greatest part of that knowledge for which the Persians were once distinguished. As time seems to have made little change in the customs of Asia, the same manners remain as are read of two thousand years ago; and the language retains the same idiom and sublimity of expression.

The Persians write like the Hebrews, from the right to the left, but their writers, who are exceedingly expert, sometimes range their lines in an arbitrary manner, so that on one leaf the writing shall have ten different directions, all in exact proportion, as to distance and the number of words and lines in each.

While .

While Mr. Hanway remained in the camp, he was witness to several acts of cruelty, committed by Nadir. He had appointed a certain general, governor of a province, on which an exorbitant tax had been imposed, to be levied in six months: At the expiration of the term, the governor was sent for to the camp, and required to produce his account; He did so; but it amounted to only half the sum demanded. The Shah told him he had embezzled the other half of the money, and ordered the executioners to bastinado him to death. His estate, when confiscated, fell very short of the demand, and his servants were ordered to come into the Shah's presence. He inquired of them if there was any thing left, belonging to their late master. They answered, "only a dog;" which being brought before Nadir, he observed that the animal appeared to be much honester than his master, and directed that he should be led through the camp, from tent to tent, and beaten with sticks; and wherever he expired, the master of the tent

should pay the money deficient. The dog was accordingly carried to the tents of the ministers successively, who immediately gave sums of money, according to their respective abilities, to procure his removal; and the whole sum demanded was raised in a few hours.

Soon after a man was executed with circumstances, which gave Mr. Hanway a yet stronger impression of the Shah's cruel disposition. The man was accused of having made greater exactions in his employment of a tax-gatherer, than he had accounted for to the Shah. Being condemned to death, Nadir said to him, "I understand you can dance well; dance, and I will save your life." The man began immediately to dance, in transports of joy; but the Shah ordered the executioner to strike him on the legs, which preventing his performance, the tyrant cried, "the rascal dances ill; kill him."

In a little time Mr. Hanway obtained a decree of the Shah, that "the particulars of his loss should be delivered to Beh-
" bud

" bud Khan, the Shah's general, now at
 " Astrabad, who was to return such parts
 " of the goods as could be recovered, and
 " make up the deficiency out of the se-
 " questrered estates of the rebels." This
 decree, although a signal mark of the jus-
 tice of Nadir, was yet ungrateful to our
 traveller, because it made it necessary for
 him to return again to Astrabad, the scene
 of his former troubles; but his zeal for
 the cause in which he had embarked over-
 came every obffacle.

The 27th of March he set off from the camp. The spring being already advanced, the brightness of the sky, the falls of wa- ter from the rocks, the stupendous moun- tains, far higher than any he had seen in Europe, rising gradually one above ano- ther, some with their summits covered with snow, and others concealing their heads in the clouds, formed a delightful scene. The vines were full of foliage; the orange groves perfumed the air with their fragrance, and the gardens were in full blossom. Where possession is insec-

and the husbandman knows not that he shall be permitted to reap the fruit of what he sows, the hand of industry is never very conspicuous; "but here," says Mr. Hanway, "nature, with a little labour, seemed to furnish all that was needful or "pleasant." The return of spring naturally cheers the mind: but must have been particularly delightful to one whose winter had been attended with such circumstances of distress.

April the 5th he arrived at Langarood, where he was again kindly received by Mr. Elton, and remained with him till the first of May, when he left that place to travel by land through the province of Mesanderan to Astrabad. There were in all in his company six persons well armed. The first evening, they were benighted and lost their way in a wood; but at length, discovering a light, they made towards the place, and found the house barricadoed with trees. They used every entreaty to persuade the master of it to conduct them on their journey; but their rhetoric not having

having the desired effect, they proceeded, like true Persians, to break into his house; and tying a rope to one of his arms compelled him to shew them the way; but this outrage being the effect of mere necessity, Mr. Hanway took care to reward him for his trouble, and sent him home again when they had regained their path.

They had not proceeded far before two of the men hired to conduct the baggage, through fear or some worse cause, left their loads and their company in a very abrupt manner. The next night, while the horses and mules were at pasture, a wolf of a very extraordinary size, of which there are many in the neighbouring mountains, made his appearance; but being driven off by the guard, he contented himself with killing a cow. In the morning they came up with a detachment of fifty soldiers, the commander of which very courteously offered his service as a convoy, which Mr. Hanway was very ready to accept, and pursued his journey in their company.

As they advanced further in the province, the peasants grew more insolent. Mr. Hanway had separated from the officer, and had obtained of him ten of his company as a guard: and now the villagers, many of whom had been engaged in the late insurrection, apprehensive that the soldiers had orders to arrest them, took to their arms, and refused to supply them with any provisions. He, however, procured some food, on condition that the soldiers should remain all night under arms in the field, where he himself pitched his tent; but the guards left their convoy in the night, contrary to their engagement, and proceeded to take care of themselves.

Early in the morning they struck their tents, and, to avoid the excessive heats, determined to travel only in the mornings and evenings. At *Amul*, a city situate at the foot of that part of mount Taurus, where Alexander is said to have encamped and refreshed his army, they saw the ruins of one of the cities of ancient Persia, and a palace of stone, which Shah Abas the

Great often made his residence. Nadir Shah had established a manufactory at this place for horse shoes, and other works in iron.

Here Mr. Hanway met with a writer who had retreated with him before the Turkuman Tartars from Astrabad, from whom he learned that Sadoc Aga and his troops, when they came into this place, were not above one hundred and fifty in number; but as the admiral had but sixty fighting men with him, they would certainly have attacked him if the town's people had not magnified his force. That Sadoc Aga, to give a formidable impression of the numbers in his army, had demanded of the city fifty thousand pairs of horse shoes; but that, notwithstanding their bravadoes, the rebels were entirely defeated.

On the 9th Mr. Hanway arrived at Balfrush, where this news was confirmed, and he was further informed that the people of Astrabad had submitted very quietly to Sadoc Aga, the rebel governor, while

while he was in strength ; but that he having left Ismael Beg, a person of distinction, as their governor, upon the news of the rebels being defeated, they had seized their new governor, and cutting holes in his flesh, they set lighted candles in them, and in that state led him naked about the market place, until he dropped down dead, with fatigue and loss of blood. Cruel treatment of a man whom their own actions, but a few weeks before, had testified they thought was guilty of no crime !

On the 13th of May, leaving Balfrush, Mr. Hanway proceeded on his journey, and travelled some miles on the great Causeway, made by Shah Abas the Great, which runs near three hundred English miles. They passed by several temples of the ancient Gebres, or worshippers of fire (where at one time possibly was the same phænomenon as at Baku,) and also the ruins of a palace built by Shah Abas, far exceeding in grandeur any other on the coast of the Caspian Sea. On the 16th they

they reached Astrabad. As they approached, they met several horsemen carrying home the captured peasants, whose eyes had been cut out ; the blood yet running down their faces. Near the entrance into the city were two pyramids of stone, each of forty feet high, built by Nadir, in which were niches, the greater number having human heads placed in them, being the heads of people who had offended the Shah, and had been executed by him or his officers.

On his arrival this second time at Astrabad, Mr. Hanway waited on Behbud Khan, the general, to whom he presented the decree he had obtained of the Shah, who promised him that he would cause it to be executed with the utmost effect. He was seated in his aivan or tent, with a semicircle of soldiers drawn up below him judging and executing, in a very summary way, the rebels who were brought before him, one or two at a time. After a short repast, a prisoner was brought who had two large logs of

wood riveted to the small of his legs, and a heavy triangular collar of wood about his neck ; one of the angles being longer than the others, served as a hand-cuff to his left wrist, so that if he attempted to rest his arm, it must press on his neck. After being questioned for some time about the caravan of European cloths, of which it appeared he knew very little, the general ordered him to be beaten with sticks, which was immediately performed by the executioners with the utmost severity, as if it was intended to kill him, and the scene was closed with an order to cut out his eyes. Sadoc Aga was then produced. In the hour of his short-lived prosperity, while he was a general of the rebel troops, he had treated Mr. Hanway with an unbecoming insolence ; but how changed was his appearance ! When Mr. Hanway saw him last he was a youth of uncommon vivacity, richly dressed, and full of mirth ; but now his garb was mean, his voice sunk, and his eyes cut out of their sockets.

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He expressed his inability to make any restitution of the property; “ for he had “ been deprived of every thing.” This answer the general returned, by an order to strike him on the mouth, which was done with such violence that the blood gushed out.

Mr. Hanway might now have retorted on some of these wretched men, the taunts they had bestowed on him, while he was in their power; but resentment was not a prevailing passion in his composition: His humanity led him to consider that there is never a proper time to insult the wretched; and he took his leave in silence, having his heart too full to enjoy this kind of entertainment, although he could perceive the general, judging of his disposition by his own, imagined the scene would have afforded him pleasure.

Whilst he was waiting to receive the remains of the cloths as they were found, he was witness to several executions of the unfortunate rebels, which were conducted

ducted with very little ceremony : They were led to a field near the residence of the military judge, and being made to kneel, blind-folded, and pronounce the creed, " There is but one God ; Mahomet is his prophet, and Ali his friend," the head was taken off with the motion of a sabre in a thrusting cut, which in drawing back completed the operation.

The payment for the rest of the value of the goods, over and above what had been recovered, being made very slowly, Mr. Hanway represented to the general the inconveniency he suffered by the delay. The officer acknowledged that a part of the money had been appropriated to the Shah's use ; but proffered him some of the women prisoners, who might be sold as slaves, in part of payment ; and upon his refusal to accept this kind of compensation, the general endeavoured to procure of him a receipt for the amount, and to give his bill payable in fifteen days ; but Mr. Hanway had experienced too much of Persian infidelity,

to sign an instrument which might be produced against him as evidence of his having received complete satisfaction.

On the 29th of June, having obtained in goods and money eighty-five per centum of the original value of his caravan ; and Capt. Woodrooffe having informed him he was arrived in the bay with the ship, he left Astrabad, and embarked on his return.

In their voyage along the southern coast of the Caspian, they were attacked by seven of the Ogurtjoy pirate boats. His commission from his Russian partners prohibited him from interfering in any thing military ; but some shot being fired gave the pirates such an idea of their great guns, that they desisted and fled.

When Mr. Hanway arrived at Langarood on the 23d of July, he found Captain Elton in a very bad state of health. He staid with him a week, and then set off for Reshd ; but the season being very unhealthy, he was seized himself with a

dan-

dangerous and uncommon sickness, which detained him till the thirteenth of September, when he left Reshd, and embarked at Perebezar. He had invested the whole sum recovered by virtue of the Shah's decree, in raw silk, which he had now the satisfaction to see safe on board in the Caspian ; and after a passage of 13 days he arrived at Yerkie. Here he was visited by the commander of the guardship, who informed him that if he had any other goods on board, but such as were the produce of Ghilan, and did not declare it, the law made it death to the offender. The governor of Astrachan had been informed, or pretended so, that there was a plague at Cashan, from whence manufactured Persian goods were wont to be brought into Russia ; and to prevent infection, the commander required the ship's crew to come on shore on a small uninhabited island on the east side of the Volga, and a fire being made, the surgeon and his attendants took the windward side of them, and demanded to see
their

their breasts: When he was satisfied they had no infection, their letters were delivered to him, being first dipped in vinegar, and dried in the smoke; but after waiting till the 11th of October in very cold and dangerous weather, they had the mortification to learn that they were ordered to perform a quarantine of six weeks on the Island Caraza, situate a little way up a branch of the Volga, towards the east.

The quarantine being expired, they were required to strip themselves entirely naked in the open air, and go through the unpleasant ceremony of having each a large pail of warm water thrown over them before they were permitted to depart: But what gave Mr. Hanway the most uneasiness was, to know that he suffered all this delay from a jealousy of his undertaking; and to hear that the dispatches, which he had sent forward in one of the Empress's boats, had been taken by the Khal-muck pirates, and twelve soldiers, who were the guard, put to death.

The

The 22nd of November, he departed from Astrachan for St. Petersburgh. The Volga was covered with ice, so that the passage to Zaritzen by water was now obstructed. He determined, therefore, to travel by land on the western side of the river, and reaching Zaritzen on the eleventh day after, arrived at Moscow the twenty-second of December. Here he received letters, acquainting him of the death of a relation, by which he reaped certain pecuniary advantages, much exceeding any he could expect from his engagement in the Caspian affairs: " Providence was thus indulgent to me," says he, " as if it meant to reward me for the sincerity of my endeavours." The distance between Moscow and St. Petersburgh, as already mentioned, is 487 English miles: yet he arrived there in three days, drawn in a sledge over the frozen snow. The road is marked by rows of trees, planted about twenty yards asunder, and the conveyance is so easy to the traveller, that he slept whilst they travelled.

velled near seventy miles. On the first of January, 1745, he arrived at St. Petersburgh, after an absence of a year and sixteen weeks, in which time he had travelled about five thousand four hundred English miles.

After Mr. Hanway left Persia, Nadir Shah, whose cruelty had continued to increase with his years, was beset with rebellions in every quarter of his dominions; his own relations, to whom he intrusted his armies, deserted his cause, and his situation became truly dangerous. The manner of his death has been disputed, but the following is Mr. Hanway's account of it. He had called before him some of the Ousbeg and Turkuman Tartars, who composed part of his army, and having sworn them to secrecy and obedience, he disclosed his design of putting to the sword all the Persians in his camp the following night.

A Georgian slave, in Nadir's tent, overheard some part of the conference, and discovered it to some of the principal

pal Persian officers. In such an extremity, the only resolution to be taken was that Nadir should die: Salib Beg, an officer of great intrepidity, commander of the body guard of Afshars, offered his service, and demanded only four chosen men to assist. A few hours before the signal was to be given for the intended massacre, Salib Beg and his followers, under pretence of urgent business, passed the guard and rushed into Nadir's tent. When they approached, he drew his sabre, and demanded what business they had. Salib Beg made no answer, but struck him with his sabre: The blow was aimed at his head, but fell on the shoulder. Nadir killed two of the soldiers, and was retiring out of the tent when he fell over the cords. The tyrant cried, "Have mercy, and I will forgive you all;" to which the officer replied, "You have shewn no mercy to others, therefore merit none yourself;" and gave him a mortal wound.

The Tartars, to whom Nadir had always been partial, no sooner heard of his death, than they made a general attack on the Persians: before day-light five thousand men were destroyed; and the army separated, after a continued campaign of eighteen years.

It is a curiosity natural to the mind to inquire the fate of Elton, who preceded Mr. Hanway in the voyage to Persia, and, by his abilities, obtained the confidence and support of the Shah.

Nadir's death did not quite quash the hopes of Captain Elton; although his being a favourite, had created him many enemies. The peasants of Ghilan attempted to assassinate him, and a ball fired from a secret hand, passed through his coat, but he escaped, and survived, under the protection which his abilities procured him from *Ali Kouli*, Nadir's nephew and successor. After his death, the Persians having no king whom they thought proper to obey, the elders of Ghilan took the people under their care,

in form of an aristocracy. Captain Elton, who knew these men meant no good to him, refused to obey them, and, shutting himself up in his house, determined to oppose them. Not having sufficient strength, he capitulated with *Hahdgee Gemal*, their chief, for the safety of his person and effects; but the faithless Hahdgee, seized his effects and condemned him to be hanged. He was being led to execution, when news arrived that one of the chief captains in the elders' army was gone over to Mahommed Hasson their enemy. This threw every thing into confusion; the elders were obliged to fly, and they carried Elton along with them. It was hoped this change in their affairs would have awakened some pity in the breasts of the elders, and that Captain Elton would have escaped; but they were incapable of commiseration, and he was shot by their orders in April,

1751.

Thus fell this enterprising Englishman, whose whole life was a scene of strange adventures,

adventures, and whose extensive mind had formed a plan, and even proceeded to execute it, for introducing the manufactures of England into the furthest parts of Persia; a country so remote, so difficult of access, and at that time so shook and disturbed by intestine war and commotion!

It comes not within the limits of this design, intended to convey to posterity some idea of the intrepidity, perseverance, and address of Mr. Hanway, to describe more minutely the present state of the empire of Persia, and the manners of the inhabitants. If what is here mentioned shall awake the curiosity of the reader, he may find it agreeably satisfied by recurring to the travels themselves; and the learned student will accompany him with peculiar pleasure in his journey over this truly classic ground, the seat of arts, of arms, and the theatre of noble events, from the earliest traces of time. However, as *Nadir Shah* makes a principal figure in this relation,

I have here added some of the leading features of his character, in Mr. Hanway's own words; which may serve as a specimen of his style in this difficult species of composition.

" Nadir was an Afshar; his face was
 " rounder, and his nose less inclined to
 " the Roman, than the Persians generally
 " are. His hair was black; his eyes large
 " and expressive; his forehead high; and
 " his complexion swarthy. His body was
 " robust; and his stature about six feet;
 " his shoulders were round. His whole
 " countenance and person were awful, par-
 " ticularly when he spoke.

" His voice was so strong and sonorous, as to be audible to an incredible distance; and the effect it had upon his own soldiers, as well as an enemy, when he gave his commands in the field of battle, proved one great step to his advancement to the regal power.

" As he had no turn to contemplation,
 " his spirits were free and untired by any
 " reflections but what immediately arose
 " from

" from his employments in the field. He
 " was far advanced in life before he had
 " learnt to read ; nor did any part of his
 " knowledge depend the least on books..

" He treated common men, and de-
 " linquents of the highest rank, without
 " much distinction of persons. It was no
 " unusual sight in the chancery, to see
 " those who had been the day before
 " bastinadoed almost to death, whose eyes
 " had been put out, or their nose cut off,
 " yet brought before him to be further
 " questioned. Upon these occasions, they
 " have often sunk down through pain or
 " want of rest ; and these miserable objects
 " have been also obliged to travel with the
 " camp.

" The avarice of this tyrant was not
 " less remarkable than his cruelty. Sen-
 " sible of his predominant vice, his great-
 " est officers greedily amassed riches, as the
 " surest means of their preservation ;
 " though it frequently happened, those
 " very riches were the cause of their de-
 " struction. Having been often challenged

" to answer for their corruption, several
 " of the most considerable amongst them
 " at length resolved to keep a regular
 " account of all presents they received,
 " that in case of need they might produce
 " it; but still it was a misfortune to
 " possess any money; for Nadir seldom
 " thought he had got their all. Shew and
 " equipage is a favourite passion among
 " the Persians, yet I observed the gover-
 " nors who came to answer for their con-
 " duct, and other great officers, chose to
 " walk on foot in the camp, rather than
 " appear in any circumstances of affluence.
 " As to the officers of rank, they imagined
 " their security consisted in refusing pre-
 " sents.

" Much may be alleged for the suspi-
 " cious turn which he took; for the Per-
 " sians are as gentle, soft, and persuasive
 " in their manners, as they are full of
 " cunning and deceit. They are polite,
 " and affect condescension to strangers or
 " guests; but where they have any power
 " or authority, their deportment is selfish,
 " haughty

" haughty, and insolent: To this we may
 " add a strong propensity to rebellion.
 " From his earliest life Nadir had an ex-
 " perimental knowledge of them, in all
 " their several ranks and conditions; and
 " seemed now to have adopted as an in-
 " variable maxim, that they could be
 " ruled only with a rod of iron.

" A certain soldier had often distinguished
 " himself in the field of battle: His skill
 " in the use of the sabre was not less ex-
 " traordinary than his corporal strength,
 " and he was at length made a Khan.
 " Nadir cast a jealous eye on this person;
 " as if he meant to try his virtue, he gave
 " him the charge of a beautiful girl, to
 " be carried to his brother Ibrahim Khan.
 " On the way he debauched her; and
 " Ibrahim discovering the indignity, sent
 " her back to his brother. It is easy to
 " imagine that Nadir would resent the
 " affront also; in short, he vowed to shed
 " the blood of the offender. Riza Kouli
 " Myrza, then in high favour with his

“ father, had a very particular regard for
“ this officer; he attended the prisoner
“ before the Shah’s pavilion, pleaded his
“ cause, and obtained his pardon. Nadir,
“ for the sake of his vow, ordered a bit of
“ the offender’s ear to be cut off. This,
“ however, was but a temporary reprieve:
“ Soon after he was sent to burn a Turk-
“ ish village; but before it was possible
“ for him to arrive there, he was recalled,
“ and questioned why he had not performed
“ his orders; and after several imperious
“ insults, Nadir commanded that he should
“ be strangled. Before the bow-string was
“ thrown about his neck, he made a sign,
“ as if he had something of importance
“ to communicate; and, as is usual in
“ such cases, a suspension was permitted.
“ The Khan availed himself of this in-
“ terval, to plunge out of the hands of
“ the executioners; and, seizing the sabre
“ of one near him, rushed forward towards
“ the Shah, who rose from his seat, and
“ retired before his enemy. The attend-
“ ants

" ants near the royal pavilion interposed,
 " and killed the delinquent, but not be-
 " fore he had slain three of them.

" No part of Nadir's character was more
 " distinguished, than that of a general ;
 " he lived in the field in the several cha-
 " racters of a peasant, a captive, a ser-
 " vant, a robber, a soldier, a general, and
 " a king. Enured to a military life, he
 " acquired a strong inclination for that
 " variety which a continued change of
 " place is apt to create. The intrepidity
 " which he possessed in so eminent a de-
 " gree, is a dazzling quality among men
 " professing arms ; but success established
 " his character as an able and fortunate
 " general.

" His quickness of observation where
 " his forces were weakest, and his pre-
 " sence of mind in succouring them, ever
 " gave him a wonderful superiority over
 " his enemies. His resolution seemed to
 " inspire his people with a determined
 " purpose to conquer or die ; nor did his
 " officers ever behave ill with impunity.

“ In action, he generally tired many horses,
“ being never long missing where his pre-
“ sence was needful. Upon these occasions
“ he was wont to address his men in such
“ familiar terms, as seemed to demonstrate
“ an opinion that a soldier will not per-
“ form his duty well, when he has no re-
“ gard for his general. He found it in-
“ dispensably necessary to keep his army
“ in motion, to prevent those conspiracies,
“ for which a great part of his soldiers
“ were always ripe; by this means also,
“ the people in the remote parts of the
“ empire were kept in awe, and he was
“ ready to oppose the invasion of his
“ neighbours, or to make conquests.

“ As he enjoyed great health, and was
“ enured to exercise, his activity was hard-
“ ly to be exceeded. He seldom placed
“ a confidence that was unnecessary, or
“ exposed himself to a danger that was
“ avoidable. In the conduct of his wars,
“ he ever preferred stratagems to force.
“ His marches were always amazingly ra-
“ pid, and his progress so irregular, and
“ contrary

" contrary to the ordinary rules of war,
 " that he confounded his enemies. In the
 " height of his grandeur he would, upon
 " any emergency, out march his baggage,
 " and suffer any hardship incident to a
 " common soldier. Thus he often defeat-
 " ed the best laid schemes of his enemies,
 " and attacked them where they were least
 " able to defend themselves. Yet in mat-
 " ters of the greatest moment, his resolu-
 " tions were generally so quick, and sur-
 " passing ordinary apprehensions, that it
 " seemed doubtful whether they were the
 " effects of a solid judgment, or a blind
 " temerity. Under the difficulties in which
 " he was often involved, irresolution seem-
 " ed to be what he dreaded most; nor did
 " he dare to ask advice, lest he should
 " weaken the superiority by which he go-
 " verned."

Such is our traveller's character of this extraordinary tyrant. The plunder taken by his troops in 1739, when the general Nizam al Muloch invited him to invade Indostan, was estimated at the amazing

sum of one hundred and seventy one millions sterlings. In the London Gazette, this estimate is corroborated.

IT was Mr. Hanway's wish to quit St. Petersburgh, and come to England much sooner than he did ; and the frequent disappointments that happened to prevent his returning to his native country increased his desire of seeing it.

The 9th of July, 1750, he left St. Petersburgh, and passed by Peterhoff, a palace built by Peter the Great, on an eminence on the south side of the Gulph of Finland, thirty five werfts from St. Petersburgh. Passing the gulph he had an opportunity of viewing the dry-dock, contrived by Peter, at Cronstadt, so large as to receive fourteen ships of the line, to build or repair in the dry, and afterwards to float them by letting in the water. On the 15th he embarked in a yacht belonging to Dantzig, and in three days arrived at Revel, the capital of Estonia. On the 24th he came to Dantzig, where he was very politely received by Mr. Gib-
son,

son, then resident from the King of Great Britain; he staid a week at Dantzig, and, having bought a chariot, passed through Prussian Pomerania, to Berlin. Here were several persons of learning and abilities, particularly Voltaire; Baron Polnitz, author of the Memoirs known by his name; Pillotier, author of the History of the Celts; and Lieberkyn, physician to the King of Prussia.

Lieberkyn was a man after Mr. Hanway's own heart: His great abilities and disinterested practice, his humanity to his patients, and his great charity to the poor, had made him universally respected. These good qualities naturally led Mr. Hanway to seek the Doctor's friendship, which he attained. Here was also Mr. Schmidt, the engraver, a subject of the King of Prussia, whom he brought with him to Berlin from Paris, and who in his art had hardly a superior.

Mr. Hanway, when he had viewed the curiosities of Berlin, went to Charlottenberg, and Potsdam, and saw the gardens

and apartments of Sans Souci, a small palace, then the favourite retreat of the King. The 23d of August he left Potsdam and came to Wittenburg, in the Electorate of Saxony, famous for its manufactory of coarse cloths; and passing through Annaburgh, and Grosshagn, came to Dresden, the metropolis of the Electorate; from Dresden he came to the castle of Meissen, in which is the porcelaine manufactory. The workmen, who are about seven thousand, are all confined as prisoners. The castle is impenetrable to any but the persons immediately employed, and the secret of mixing and preparing the ingredients is known to but very few even of these. Passing through Leipsig, he came to Magdeburg; from thence to Wolfenbuttle, the next day to Brunswick, and from thence to Hⁿanover, the palace of Herenhausen, which is commonly recommended to the attention of travellers, he found very short of his expectation. The building is by no means grand; but the garden may be admired. In it is a jet d'eau,

d'eau, erected by an Englishman, which throws the water seventy feet high. September the 13th he left Hanover, and passing through Zell, Weiffendorff, and Zœhrendorff, came to Hamburg, where he met with many factors with whom he had been connected in a mercantile line, particularly Mr. Bosanquet, Mr. Hanbury, and Mr. Thornton, deputy governor of the British company. After staying at Hamburg about three weeks, he went to Bremen, intending to go on to Embden; but the weather being unfavourable for travelling, he determined to make the best of his way to Amsterdam. October the 16th he left Amsterdam, and went by water from Haerlem to Leyden, and from Leyden to the Hague; passing through Rotterdam, he went in a yacht to Helvoet, and, after a passage of twenty-two hours from Helvoetsluys, landed at Harwich the 28th of October, 1750, after an absence from his native country of near eight years.

IT was Mr. Hanway's constant practice, from his early youth, to commit to writing not only every occurrence of moment, but his thoughts on it at the time: In the rough journal of his travels there is a short reflection on the pleasure he felt in being once more safe landed on his native shore; and in a fair transcript of the journal, seemingly made with intention to be printed, this reflection is much amplified, and concluded with some stanzas of the Ode written by Mr. Addison, on his return from his travels, which I cannot forbear adding here, although so well known.

How are thy servants blest, O Lord!
How sure is their defence!
Eternal Wisdom is their guide,
Their help, Omnipotence.

In foreign realms, and lands remote,
Supported by thy care;
Through burning climes I pass'd unhurt,
And breath'd in tainted air.

In midst of dangers, fears, and death,
Thy goodness I'll adore,
And praise thee for thy mercies past,
And humbly hope for more.

My life, if thou preserv'st my life,
Thy sacrifice shall be ;
And death, if death must be my doom,
Shall join my soul to thee.

THERE

THERE never was a truer patriot than Mr. Hanway : The love of his native country he carried with him wherever he went ; and he omitted no opportunity of informing himself of the events which passed in it. Nothing that happened among his friends was indifferent to him ; and he at last relinquished a lucrative line of trade, to return to England, that he might '*consult his own health, and do as much good to himself and others as he was able.*' ' You know, ' my dear —' says he, in a letter written from Pittsburgh to a most intimate friend in London, ' that it is only ' the desire of gaining somewhat, to make ' the evening of my life comfortable, in ' my native land, which keeps me here.— ' I covet no more than I can enjoy : ' What should detain me an eager votary ' of fortune, who am drooping under ill ' health, languishing for a life of reason, ' and wishing to lay down my head in ' peace whenever my hour shall come ? ' If I am not destined to die a martyr ' here

' here to the Persian trade, I will set off
 ' soon for my dear country, and my
 ' much-loved friends.'

He had now attained his wish, and the reader must take his leave of him as a traveller. The rest of his life, with the exception of two short intervals, was spent in England, in a continued course of good actions, pursued with such assiduity, that this latter part of it was hardly less active, though certainly less exposed to danger, than the former.

When Mr. Hanway arrived in London, he went to live at the house of his sister, then Mrs. Townfend, in the Strand, where apartments had been prepared for him ; and his mercantile affairs being closed, he lived here as a private gentleman. His fortune was small ; but it was sufficient to satisfy all his wants, and afford a portion to alleviate real distress, when it came to his notice. His carriage, which was of the kind called a *Solo*, from its holding but one person, was ornamented with his motto, " *never despair.*"

"despair," and the device of a man just escaped from a storm at sea, on a desolate coast, as described in page (40.) His time was passed in arranging the materials for a publication of his Travels; in transacting the business of his brother Thomas (who was now Captain of the Windsor, and had distinguished himself in several engagements), and in acts of kindness and beneficence suited to his income.

He chose to print his Travels at his own expence, that he might not lead a bookseller into an engagement to his loss, and engaged some of the best artists of the time to engrave the charts and maps, which he had procured abroad, and to design and engrave some of the principal events that happened to him in the course of his travels. The printing and engraving cost him seven hundred pounds. The first edition of twelve hundred copies, in four quarto volumes, was published in January, 1753, and received with universal approbation; and when

when the concurrent testimony of men of taste and learning had given the work the stamp of merit, he closed with an offer made him by Mr. A. Millar, the bookseller, for the sale of the copy-right. Mr. Millar published a second edition in two large quarto volumes, and after that a third and fourth editions were printed and sold. Lady Germain, to whom he dedicated this work, presented him with fifty guineas, as a dedication fee.

The close application he had bestowed on this favourite object having considerably impaired his health, which at the best was but indifferent, and made some relaxation necessary ; as soon as he had disposed of his interest in his book, and sent copies to some of his friends abroad, he went to pass a few weeks at Tunbridge Wells. The waters, and the amusements of the place, were of great service to him ; and his health being considerably recruited, in the beginning of September he set out on a journey to Paris. He staid at Paris about a month, and having viewed

the

the curiosities of that city, and the neighbouring palaces, returned leisurely to London, by way of Lille, Brussels, Antwerp, and thence to Amsterdam.

NATURALIZATION OF THE JEWS.

WHILST he was on this tour of amusement and information, the great question relative to the expediency of naturalizing the Jews came to be agitated: A bill was brought into the house for the purpose: It became the reigning subject of conversation in all parties; the public prints were full of arguments on one side or the other, and the clamour spread itself abroad wherever Jews were permitted to reside or to trade. Mr. Hanway thought it a duty to take a part in this popular question; and having reduced his arguments against the bill for naturalization into writing, he sent the manuscript to London to be printed.

The

The dispute continuing to increase, he sent over a second edition, with some small additions made to it at Amsterdam, which also was printed here.

In October he arrived in England, and went again to Tunbridge Wells, the waters of which had done him such service. At this place he prepared for the press his "*Review of the proposed Naturalization of the Jews*," in which he endeavours to prove, from scripture, from the ancient and modern establishment of that people, and the commercial system between this kingdom and foreign nations; that to give the Jews the right of natural born subjects, would be highly impolitic: And this afterwards proved to be the opinion of the legislature; for though the bill passed into an act, 26 Geo. II. cap. 26, it lived only a few months, being repealed the very next session.

The question is now almost forgotten; but it may be worthy the consideration of the serious, and perhaps an argument in

in favour of the truth of our holy religion, that the Jews have never, in any part of the world where they have been dispersed, been incorporated with the natives; but remain to this day, however separated from their brethren, a distinct and peculiar people. The sentence originally denounced against them, that they should "*be removed to all the kingdoms of the earth, and become an astonishment, a proverb, and a bye-word amongst all nations,*" still remains in its fullest force.

It was this spirited opposition to an impolitic law, which even the most intelligent among the Jews themselves thought inexpedient, that laid the foundation of Mr. Hanway's celebrity as a public spirited man.

PLAN FOR AN UNIFORM PAVEMENT
OF THE STREETS.

ABOUT this time (1754), Mr. John Spranger, a gentleman of Covent Garden, formed the outline of a plan for *Paving the Streets of the City and Liberty of Westminster* in an uniform manner, which he published.

Some regulation of the pavements throughout the metropolis had long been thought absolutely necessary; for the form, and level, and the quality of the materials within every parish or district, were left to the discretion of a few inhabitants, who took the lead in their respective districts, and in some places all form and regularity were lost, by neglecting to repair the defects as they were occasioned, or by repairing them in an improper manner.

Ever attentive to the public interest, in December 1754, Mr. Hanway published his “*first Letter to Mr. Spranger,*

*"on his excellent Proposals for Paving,
Cleansing, and Lighting the Streets of
Westminster, &c."* in which after making observations on the good effects likely to accrue from such a plan, drawn from experience in other countries ; he proceeds to recommend the writing up the names of streets,—the removal of bulks, and other obstructions,—fixing water-trunks against the houses—and points out the manner of constructing kennels,—the formation of footways,—regulation of signs, &c.

It is not very easy to convey to a person who has not seen the streets of this metropolis before they were uniformly paved, a tolerable idea of their inconvenience and unseemliness : The carriage-ways were full of cavities, which harboured water and filth. The signs extending on both sides the way into the streets, at unequal distances from the houses, that they might not intercept each other, greatly obstructed the view, and, which is of much more consequence

in a crowded city, prevented the free circulation of the air. The foot-paths were universally incommoded, by a row of posts, set on the edge next the carriage way. He whose urgent business would not admit of his keeping pace with the gentleman of leisure before him, turned out between the two posts before the door of some large house into the carriage-way: When he perceived danger moving towards him, he wished to return within the protection of the row of posts; but there was commonly a rail continued from the top of one post to that of another, sometimes for several houses together: in which case he was obliged to run back to the first inlet, or climb over, or creep under the railing, in attempting which he might think himself fortunate if he escaped with no other injury than what proceeded from dirt: If, intimidated by the danger he escaped, he afterwards kept within the boundary of the posts and railing, he was obliged to put aside the travellers before him, whose haste was less

urgent than his ; and these resisting, made his journey truly a *warfare*.

These dangers and distresses are now at an end, and we may think of them as the sailor does of the storm which has subsided ; but the advantages derived from the present uniformity and cleanliness of our streets, can be known in their full extent, only by comparing them with the former inconveniences.

But however necessary some alteration was thought, no effectual steps were taken at this time ; and perhaps the business was at last hastened by an accident which happened, six years after, to the Speaker's carriage, in passing through the narrow entrance near Craig's Court.

In 1762, an act passed, appointing Commissioners, and vesting authority in them to “order any of the public streets, “within the city and liberty of West-“minster, and certain parts adjacent, to “be paved, raised, altered, cleansed, and “lighted, when, and in such manner as “they should think fit.” By this act
5,000l.

5,000l. was directed to be issued to the commissioners, out of the supplies granted for the service of the year, towards enabling them to carry the purposes of their commission into execution; and they were further authorized to make a rate, not exceeding eighteen pence in the pound, of the yearly value of the houses before which their paving should extend. Their powers being found incomplete, the next year this act was "explained, amended, " and rendered more effectual" by another; and both these acts "explained " and amended" by a third, passed the year after.

Hitherto the commissioners had pursued their plan without obstruction. The benefits of the new paving were set in the most conspicuous point of view, by comparison with the inconveniences of the places not paved; and such confidence had the inhabitants of several large and opulent streets, in the conduct of the commissioners, that they petitioned them to new pave their streets, and pro-

ferred to advance or raise money on the credit of the rates to be made on themselves, to defray the expence, and pay the same to the commissioners, who were to issue the same as the work advanced, and lay *such further rate on the inhabitants; as might be necessary.* To this the commissioners acceded, and in 1765 an act passed to establish and complete the agreement. But whatever might be the advantages, the inhabitants of these streets, now called "*optional streets,*" expected to derive from such a humiliating treaty with the commissioners, their successors had no great reason to venerate their wisdom and foresight: They found themselves burthened with a debt immensely large, and rates proportionably high; and had the mortification to see, that if they had waited some months longer, and pursued the plan of the parishes, they would have obtained the substantial advantages of transacting their own business, and had the disposal of that money which now they had only the credit of having raised.

The

The year after, an act passed to put under the direction of the commissioners, such parts of the road leading from the west end of the town, as the new paving was proposed to extend to, and granting them one thousand pounds per annum, to be paid by the trustees of the Kensington road, with authority to raise money on the grant.

But the whole of this business, which is become, by the debt, an object of the most serious consequence to the inhabitants, will be best seen in the abstract :
The commissioners began their

work with a grant from parliament, as already mentioned, of - - - £. 5000

To which was added a private grant of - - - 15000

Parliament gave them from the duty on coals - - - 20000

£. 40000

This sum of 40000l. being free grants, was charged with no interest.

When the work began to ad-	
vance, parliament granted the	
commissioners an addition to	
the Sunday tolls collected at	
the western turnpikes, which	
they mortgaged for	£. 25000
The annuity of 1000l. payable	
from the Kensington trust,	
they mortgaged for	20000
The money raised and paid to	
them, to pave the optional	
streets, was	53000
	—
	£. 138000

In 1769, the commissioners applied to parliament for still further authorities; and stated "that they had completed one "sixth part of their business, in which "they had expended all their money:" To execute the remainder, then, they must borrow more — £. 690000 Their debt already amounted to, as above stated, 98000 If

If Marybone should be under their care, as they now required, this being about one-fourth part of the whole, will cost 276000

Which will create a debt of £. 1,064,000

But the knowledge of the commissioners in the business of paving began now to be thought not so complete as was at first imagined; and it was suspected that advantages had been taken of them by some of their contractors. The parish of Marybone would not enlist under their banner; but applied to parliament, and obtained a local act, by which they were paved under commissioners of their own nominating, and residing within their own district; and in 1771 the several parishes within the city and liberty of Westminster, and parts adjacent, after an arduous struggle, obtained an act, under which they have completed what the commissioners had begun, and have in no instance exceeded the rate of

eighteen-pence in the pound on the rent of the inhabitants, to answer the joint purposes of paving and repairing.

This well-planned act, which is in reality an alteration of a bill presented to parliament by the commissioners, to extend their powers, and which lessens, without annihilating, their authority, enables each parish to elect three commissioners to represent it in the general commission,—to appoint a committee to superintend its own business, to borrow money for themselves, and to make a rate, five-sixth parts whereof to be appropriated to pay the interest of the money borrowed, and the remaining sixth part to lie by, and accumulate towards paying off the principal, which in those parishes that have been well managed, has been done.

This is the short history of an undertaking, which has introduced a degree of elegance and symmetry into the streets of the metropolis, that is the admiration of all Europe, and far exceeds any thing of the kind in the modern world. Mr. Hanway,

way, whose hints and observations on the original plan were almost all adopted, attended closely to the business until the plan was formed, and in some measure carried into execution; but when he saw that the great objects of health, cleanliness, and safety, were provided for, and that the citizens of London had come to a resolution to adopt the new mode of paving, he directed his humane attention where he thought it would be of more general service.

INVASION.

EARLY in the spring of 1755, intelligence was received that the French, with whom the war was now grown serious, were fitting out a formidable squadron of ships at Brest, and had actually begun to assemble a body of forces, with intention to make a descent on this kingdom. This

created some consternation. The six thousand men stipulated to be furnished by the States General, whenever England should be threatened with invasion, were demanded and refused, and the panick increased. At this period Mr. Hanway published his "*Thoughts on Invasion,*" a work well calculated to quiet the minds of the people, as to the probability of the event taking place, and the means which they had, if exerted properly, to repel their enemies if they should dare to land on our coast.

MARINE SOCIETY.

THE next object of general benevolence, which engaged his attention, was the encouragement of the breed of seamen. The act of the second of Queen Anne, which directs every master of a vessel of thirty tons burthen and upwards, to

to take one or more apprentice or apprentices from the parish, was so much neglected as to be of little use, and the war, which had now commenced, made it apparent that some effectual regulation was necessary. He at first endeavoured, by sundry printed letters, addressed to the masters in the merchants service, to persuade them to comply with the directions of the act ; but the single voice of an individual was too feeble to be heard where interest was concerned. When once, however, he had engaged in any thing he thought right, he never remitted in his exertions till he had carried his point : opposition served but to increase his industry ; and his zealous application to remedy this neglect of a wise and considerate act of parliament, produced in the end the MARINE SOCIETY, an institution not to be equalled for substantial utility, and real national advantage, by any undertaking in any age or country.

In March 1756, Fowler Walker, Esq. a barrister at law, first proposed to the late Sir John Fielding, then John Fielding,
Esq.

Esq. to collect such vagabond boys as either were brought before him in his capacity of a magistrate, charged with petty offences, or were found wandering and begging in the streets, and solicit a subscription for fitting them out to serve at sea; and Mr. Fielding, with the assistance of Mr. Walker, succeeded so far as to obtain sufficient to clothe and fit out about four hundred poor boys.

Mr. Hanway considering that the war would call for a greater number of seamen than at that time existed, and that something was necessary to be done, before the boys could attain the age and strength of manhood, summoned a meeting of merchants and owners of ships, to be held at a coffee-house near the Royal Exchange, and there proposed to them to form themselves into a society for fitting out landmen volunteers, and boys, to serve on board the king's ships. The proposal was eagerly embraced; a regular society was formed, and a committee and proper officers appointed. July the 15th following, the first

ten landmen were delivered, properly clothed, on board a king's ship, and the society, under the direction of Mr. Hanway, proceeded in their enterprize with great vigour and perseverance.

" We found," says he, in his address to the public in favour of the design, " a great number of young fellows, in danger of becoming a prey to vice through idleness, who, as soon as the garb of seamen was presented to them gratis, gladly entered into the service; and a number of boys loitering in filth and rags, and as the forlorn hope of human nature, ready for any enterprize; and we considered that the preserving such persons, and rendering them useful, promoted the great end of government and true policy, in a double view."

In December 1757, a silver anchor was voted to Mr. Walker, and another to Mr. Hanway, by the society; the latter inscribed, "*As a token of the high sense we entertain of his public spirit, in proposing, and his unwearied assiduity in methodizing*

" thodising and carrying our design into execution ;" and the plan was found so beneficial, that it met with general encouragement.

The King gave	-	£. 1000
His present Majesty, then Prince of Wales	-	400
The Princess Dowager of Wales	-	200
The corporation of London	-	500
The city companies	-	2000
The several settlements in the East Indies	-	1210.

The managers of the theatres, Mr. Garrick, and Mr. Rich, and the proprietors of Ranelagh, contributed, by giving nights of Entertainment for the benefit of the society ; and such was the high opinion which the public entertained of the utility of this society, that people of all ranks and conditions contributed with a generosity suited to their respective abilities.

When the idle boys and men in and near the metropolis were sent to sea, the society

society directed their attention to Scotland and Ireland, and in 1762, six years after its commencement, the governors had fitted out,

Boys	545
Landmen Volunteers	478
<hr/>	
In all	10238

The navy regulations require that, for every hundred men employed in actual service, four boys shall be entered; and very near all this proportion of boys were clothed and sent by the Marine Society.

Towards the end of the war, the society, fearing that many of the boys fitted out by them, might be turned loose on the world again, and fall into mischief; applied to the Lords of the Admiralty, and obtained of them an order, that each boy discharged should be victualled on board a ship in ordinary for a time not exceeding three months, and in his discharge have a certificate from the commander under whom he served; but it appeared that so many

many of them had become seamen, and procured employment on board merchant ships, or had obtained work on shore, that when the society offered relief to all who had been fitted out by them, and might be in want, only about four hundred applied for assistance.

In 1772, an act of parliament passed to make the governors a body corporate, under the style of the "*Marine Society*," and appointing Robert Lord Romney, President; John Thornton, Esq. Treasurer; and a certain number of the governors, a committee for transacting the general business.

In 1774 a subscription was entered into for erecting a building for their business: a piece of ground adjoining St. Ethelburga's church in Bishopsgate-street, was taken on a building lease, of the committee for city lands, and a very ample and proper house was erected, where the business of the society has ever since been carried on. This house cost near four thousand pounds. The court room is fitted up, and decorated in

in a very elegant manner. Captain Thomas Hanway, having in his life time been one of the earliest supporters, his brother gave a chamber mausoleum erected to his memory to the society, and it now forms a distinguished part of the ornaments of this court room.

I cannot take my leave of this excellent and truly patriotic institution, without expressing my approbation, however unimportant, of the principle on which it is founded, and my sincerest wish that it may still increase in splendour, and be as a fountain, from whence shall flow the blessings of industry, emulation, and true Christian bravery, to all parts of the British empire. Against every institution of a charitable nature, except this, at some time or other objections have been made; but the Marine Society has the peculiar felicity to receive the concurrent applause of all mankind. The invisible link with which, for wise purposes, Heaven attaches the parent to its own offspring, is here not weakened; the child is not separated from his

his natural parents till the time when nature seems to decree that he should labour for his own support, and assume a distinct character, dependant on his own exertions and rectitude of conduct. Indeed what plan can be possibly devised more substantially beneficial than that which relieves distress, without encouraging idleness ; which checks the career of dissipation and vice, without sacrificing the agent, and transforms the most useless and dangerous part of the community into the most useful and truly respectable.

Mr. Hanway had not only the merit of being the original proposer of this design ; but by the most judicious and unceasing attention to its interest, and the management of its finances, deserved the title of its guardian also : He led it as it were by the hand, during its infant state ; and protected and watched over it, with the care of a parent, till it arrived by degrees to the strength and maturity it at present enjoys.

ESSAY ON TEA-DRINKING.

IN 1757, Mr. Hanway published his “Journey from Portsmouth to Kingston,” which running through two editions, in the last he animadverted on the pernicious custom of tea-drinking, and the expence it created to the lower classes of the people. Doctor Johnson, to whom this liquor was extremely grateful, and who applied to it when his spirits wanted recruit, as others apply to a cordial, was at that time engaged in a periodical work, called “*The Literary Magazine.*” Stirred up by this attack on his favourite beverage, the Doctor condescended to stoop from that dignity of character which he was so peculiarly qualified to support, and in an *anonymous* essay inserted in his work, without answering the remarks made by our author, attacked him in his personal character, in a style between irony and ill-nature. The Doctor, in his warmth, perceived not that Mr. Hanway’s
remarks

remarks were not intended for people in his line of life, and by this essay convinced their mutual friends, that he was not more superior to his adversary in learning, than inferior to him in affability and social benevolence.

FOUNDLING HOSPITAL.

IN 1758, Mr. Hanway paid fifty pounds to qualify him as a governor of the Foundling Hospital for life, and with his usual earnestness set himself to acquire a knowledge of the state of the institution, and to consider how his assistance and advice might be best directed for its advancement. Of the rise and progress of this house of refuge for deserted children, the following is the best account I have been able to procure.

In 1708, some merchants of London associated themselves together, and pro-

posed to open a subscription, and erect a house for the reception of *such infants as the misfortunes or inhumanity of their parents should leave destitute of support.*

This humane proposal was not, however, carried into execution at this time; the reason assigned, being the fear “*that it might seem to encourage vice, by making too easy a provision for illegitimate children.*” But though the merchants proceeded no further, yet their publications seem to have evinced the necessity of a Foundling Hospital; and the idea was so warmly cherished, that several persons left money by will to be appropriated to such an hospital when it should be erected.

The first man who took up the business in a regular manner, was *Mr. Thomas Coram*, commander of a vessel in the merchants service. In his introductory address, he said, “*he had been a witness to the shocking spectacle of innocent children, who had been murdered and thrown upon dunghills.*” His first intention

tention was to erect huts in Lamb's Conduit fields, for the reception and nourishment of deserted infants; but meeting with greater encouragement than he expected, he applied to some persons of distinction of the female sex, by whom he judiciously concluded his representation would be most sensibly felt, and obtained a declaration signed by twenty-one noble ladies, of which the following is an abstract:

" Whereas ~~is~~ of the institutions of
 " charity, which this nation, and espe-
 " cially the city of London, has hitherto
 " established, no expedient has yet been
 " found out for preventing the frequent
 " *murders* of poor infants at their birth;
 " or for suppressing the inhuman custom
 " of exposing new born infants to perish
 " in the streets: For a beginning to re-
 " dress so deplorable a grievance, We,
 " whose names are underwritten, being
 " deeply touched with compassion for the
 " sufferings and lamentable condition of
 " such poor, abandoned, helpless infants,
 " and

" and in order to supply the government
 " with useful hands, and for the better
 " producing of good and faithful servants
 " from amongst the poor ; *are desirous to*
 " encourage, and willing to contribute
 " towards erecting an hospital for infants,
 " whom their *parents are not able to*
 " *maintain*, which we conceive will not
 " only prevent many *horrid murders*,
 " *cruelties*, and other mischiefs, and be
 " greatly beneficial ~~to~~ ^{to} the public ; but
 " will also be acceptable to God Almighty,
 " provided a Royal Charter be granted
 " by the King, to such persons as shall be
 " willing to become benefactors for the
 " erecting and endowing such an hospital,
 " and managing the affairs thereof gratis ;
 " under such regulations as his Majesty,
 " in his great wisdom, shall judge most
 " proper, for attaining the desired effect
 " of our good intentions."

The address was annexed to the petition
 to the king for a charter, which was im-
 mediately granted, and bears date the 17th
 of October, 1739. The next year an act

of parliament passed to confirm and enlarge the powers granted by the charter, and the guardians purchased land of the Earl of Salisbury, in Lamb's Conduit fields, whereon to erect the proposed hospital. But willing to attempt something before the building could be completed, they hired a house in Hatton Garden, and in March, 1741, the first thirty children were admitted. During that year one hundred and thirty six were received under the care of the guardians, of whom sixty six died, which determined the governors to send their children to be nursed out of the impure air of the metropolis.

On the 16th of September, 1742, the first stone of the present building was laid; but it was three years before one wing was ready to be inhabited, and then the house in Hatton Garden was given up.

The next step was to solicit an exclusive subscription to defray the expence of building a chapel, which was begun to be erected in May, 1747, and two years afterwards the other wing was added. Such was the

zeal

zeal which influenced the minds of persons for this favourite object, that perhaps no institution merely of a charitable nature was ever more munificently supported.

The King gave £. 2000, and one thousand more towards establishing a preacher. The Princess Dowager of Wales, seven hundred and forty pounds; and before 1769, upwards of ten thousand pounds had been collected at musical performances in the chapel under the direction of Mr. Handel, who gave an organ for the chapel, and the score of his Messiah to the guardians.

Hitherto the plan had been supported by the contributions of individuals, but in 1755, the House of Commons took up the cause of the hospital, and, at the solicitation of the guardians, Resolved that, “ to render the hospital of general utility, all the children which should be offered under a certain age should be admitted, and proper places opened in all the counties of the kingdom for the

G 2 “ reception

“ reception of exposed and deserted young
“ children.”

In June following, the guardians having received their first grant from parliament of £. 10,000, opened their doors to receive “ all children not exceeding two months old, which should be offered.” The first day of this indiscriminate admission, one hundred and seventeen children were admitted. The next year £. 30,000 more was granted, and the guardians extended the age of admission from two to six months.

A receptacle so supported, with its doors continually open, and governed by persons of sentiment, could not want applications, too many of which were dictated rather by a want of feeling in the parent for its offspring, than of the means of rearing it; and in a little while the governors found it necessary to advertise, that they “ would prosecute *all persons, as well parish officers as others, who should forcibly or fraudulently send to the hospital* “ any

"any children without the consent of their parents," and actually did prosecute in several instances.

It was supposed by some of the most sanguine of the guardians, that the hospital would in time supersede the necessity of the poor laws; but others were not deceived by this torrent of apparent humanity: These saw that the universal admission had a tendency to promote licentiousness, by weakening the force of that first passion of nature, the attachment of the parent to her own offspring. The foremost of these advocates for morality was Mr. Hanway: He observed that to take infants from their parents, and send them into a world, in which there was not one person to whom they owed a particular obedience, or whose opinion or censure it was incumbent on them to regard, was not the way to promote virtue, and the harmony of society. In 1759, he published a pamphlet expressly to point out to the guardians and the world, the evil tendency which the practice must have, especially as

these children were not intended to serve the king, in the capacity of soldiers, or sailors, as in France, and some other countries, having foundling hospitals. The wealth, however, which rolled in from government every session, carried every thing before it, and the indiscriminate admission of all children, without question, continued some years longer; but Mr. Hanway was not dazzled by this false splendour, nor intimidated by the opposition of those who, benefited by the plan, or fond of the disposal of public money, took up its defence. He never quitted the subject till he had gained his point; and time has shewn mankind that he was right.

At the end of 1757, 5618 infants had been received, of whom had died 2311. Parliament continued its assistance with a most liberal hand; the money granted between the year 1755, and 1771, being upwards of five hundred and seventy thousand pounds—thirty three thousand five hundred and thirty pounds per ann. on an average! but in 1771, parliament not perceiving

ceiving such great public benefit to arise from the hospital as had been expected, withdrew all support, and the governors, whose private contributions had almost ceased when the object was taken under the protection of the legislature, came to a resolution to admit only such a number of children as their finances were adequate to the maintenance of, and these monthly by ballot. The governors have lately by letting the ground round the hospital, been enabled to extend their benevolent assistance, and encrease the number of their children.

WHETHER a foundling hospital is an institution proper for this kingdom, the only one in the world where there is an universal tax for the support of the indigent, is not for me to determine; Lord Kaimes, in the violence of his resentment, would have every foundation of the kind "rased to the ground," and proceeds so far as to reprobate our poor laws in *toto*; but then he is constrained to leave the distressed to the uncertain assistance of vo-

luntary compassion; a precarious support, more frequently extorted by the clamorous, than bestowed on the meek and deserving; and I conceive that the necessity of a particular attention to the education of the rising generation of the inferior ranks, is much more evident at this time, than when his Lordship wrote.

MAGDALENE HOSPITAL.

THE next object of Mr. Hanway's philanthropy, was to provide an asylum for the women of the town. In all the countries through which he had travelled, the promiscuous commerce of the sexes was either expressly or tacitly allowed; but then it was confined to particular quarters of the city, and was therefore less open to general observation than here. His feeling heart could not but deplore the wretched situation of so many beautiful females, who

who wandered publicly whithersoever inclination or necessity led them, and obtruded their misery and their vice on his eye in every street.

As early as 1750, when he first arrived from St. Petersburgh, Mr. Robert Dingley communicated to him his plan for a Magdalene house; but Mr. Hanway advised him not to make it public till some previous observations had more fully evinced the usefulness of such a design.

One of the first appeals to the humanity of the public in behalf of these miserable beings, was made by Dr. Samuel Johnson. Struck with the sight of the hospital for the reception of deserted infants, a natural train of sentiment led him to reflect on the fate of their mothers; whom he thus recommends to a place in the heart of the benevolent.

“ These were all once, if not virtuous,
“ at least innocent, and might still have
“ continued blameless and easy, but for
“ the arts and insinuations of those whose
“ rank, fortune, or education, furnished

“ them with means to corrupt or to de-
 “ lude them. Let the libertine reflect
 “ one moment on the situation of that
 “ woman, who, being forsaken by her
 “ betrayer, is reduced to the necessity of
 “ turning prostitute for bread, and judge
 “ of the enormity of his guilt, by the
 “ evils which it produces.

“ It cannot be doubted but that num-
 “ bers follow this dreadful course of life
 “ with shame, horror, and regret; but
 “ where can they hope for refuge? *The*
“ world is not their friend, nor the
“ world's law. Their sighs, and tears,
 “ and groans, are criminal in the eye of
 “ their tyrants, the bully and the bawd,
 “ who fatten on their misery, and threaten
 “ them with want or a gaol, if they shew
 “ the least design of escaping from their
 “ bondage.

“ How frequently have the gay and
 “ thoughtless, in their evening folicks,
 “ seen a band of these miserable females
 “ covered with rags, shivering with cold,
 “ and pining with hunger, and without
 “ either

“ either pitying their calamities, or reflecting upon the cruelty of those who perhaps first seduced them by careffes of fondness, or magnificence of promises, go on to reduce others to the same wretchedness by the same means !

“ To stop the increase of this deplorable multitude, is undoubtedly the first and most pressing consideration. To prevent evil is the great end of government, the end for which vigilance and severity are properly employed. But surely those, whom passion or interest have already depraved, have some claim to compassion, from beings equally frail and fallible with themselves; nor will they long groan in their present afflictions, if none were to refuse them relief, but those that owe their exemption from the same distress only to their wisdom and their virtue.

“ March 26, 1751.”

Several other persons, particularly Mr. John Fielding, and Mr. Saunders Welch,

G 6 endeavoured

endeavoured to excite the commiseration of the public for these pitiable objects ; but it was not till the year 1758, that any regular proposal was made for their relief. In this year Mr. Dingley first offered to the public his “ *Proposal for establishing a Place of Reception for penitent Prostitutes,*” which he prefaced with an address feelingly descriptive of their misery, and their incapacity to extricate themselves from it by any efforts of their own. This proposal Mr. Hanway recommended by a pamphlet and several letters, previously prepared ; and it met with the approbation of many respectable characters. The plan, as originally concerted, was intended to include orphan girls of a tender age ; but this part was abandoned for the present, though it now makes a distinguished figure among our charitable institutions, countenanced and protected by a mother, whose conjugal and maternal affection adds dignity even to *her* most exalted station.

Encouraged by the support they had experienced, a committee was formed who
undertook

undertook to account for the subscriptions, which in a few weeks amounted to three thousand pounds. They took a house in Prescot-Street, Goodman's-Fields, and on the 10th of August, 1758, the first eight women were received.

Mr. Hanway continued to recommend the design by all the means in his power, and procured the best accounts he could of the institutions of a similar kind in other countries. After a trial of some years, the governors built their present hospital in St. George's Fields.

Her Majesty condescended to be the patroness, and gave three hundred pounds.

It is an unfavourable circumstance to this institution, that for obvious reasons the governors cannot make public the particular instances in which their endeavours have been attended with the desired success; and many persons, seeing the numbers of the women of the town still so prodigious, are led from thence to think less highly of the hospital than it deserves. The governors never hoped to be able completely

pletely to eradicate vice; but they have been the means of restoring many to virtue, happiness, and health, who must, without their assistance, have been lost.

Mr. Hanway took great delight in entertaining the women who had left the hospital and settled in life, at his own house; he encouraged their visits, inquired their manner of life, and gave them his good advice, and, to shew his sincerity, always accompanied it with a small present.

INCREASE OF SEAMEN.

IN 1759, Mr. Hanway published his "Reasons for an additional Number of twelve thousand Seamen to be employed in Time of Peace, in the Merchants Service." The design of this work, which was promoted by Admiral Bosca-wen, and other persons of distinction in the maritime line, was to prove that as a commercial and military nation, having such remote and extended dominions, our trade

trade ought to contribute more to its own existence and support; and that to have a resource of seamen always ready to act, whenever our enemies should make it necessary, would prevent the expence and inconvenience of pressing, and set us on equal terms with our foes, even on the first breaking out of hostilities. The manner in which he proposed to form and support this augmentation of seamen, was by compelling masters in the merchants service to take an additional number of sailors, in proportion to the tonnage of their vessels, and allowing bounties on certain articles of commerce, as an equivalent to the additional number of hands.

The encouragement of seamen was always a favourite object of our author's attention; and he knew from experience as well as observation, how much the safety and prosperity of our country depend on this useful body of men. He saw likewise that it required a long time to convert a mere landman into a tolerable mariner; and such was his attachment to this favourite

vourite plan, and his confidence of its expediency, that he never lost sight of it: In 1770, he published a second edition of the above work; and at the close of the last war he endeavoured to make the marine society contribute towards the breed of seamen, by education as well as clothing.

STEPNEY SOCIETY.

IN 1758, Mr. Hanway entered his name as a subscriber to the *Stepney Society*, an institution calculated to prevent misery, and encourage maritime employment; and which, though it has lately declined, deserves well to be recorded.

In the year 1674, at the conclusion of the war with Holland, a few masters of ships in the merchants service entered into a small subscription to be appropriated for the “*Apprenticing out Orphans, and the Children of the Poor, to Marine Trades;*” but

but either for want of a person at their head, who had abilities to conduct a plan of the kind, or some other cause not now to be easily traced out, very little was done; and the society was not much known till the year 1729, when Sir Charles Wager accepted the office of steward. The patronage of this brave and benevolent man greatly assisted the society, and afterwards persons of the highest rank and fortune were stewards. The lords of the Admiralty, commissioners of the Navy and Victualling, and other departments of the marine, gave their countenance and support to it.

Previous to the year 1758, the society had usually placed out sixteen boys as apprentices, chiefly to water-borne businesses, every year, with each of whom they gave five pounds apprentice fee; but their finances were too slender to enable them to do any thing for the instruction or comfort of the lads in their apprenticeship. It is remarkable that from the commencement of this fraternity to the time when Mr. Hanway became a steward, almost their whole

whole fund had been collected at their annual feasts. The masters, probably, struck out the idea originally at a dinner, and in the benevolence of their hearts, continued to dine and to contribute once in the course of every year for so long a period. Their names, I believe, never appeared; the stewards were annually appointed to provide the dinner, and see to the distribution of the money collected. It had been usual to appropriate a part of their little fund to the clothing a few boys to serve as volunteers on board the king's ships; but Mr. Hanway perceiving that the marine society made such ample provision for all boys inclined to serve in the navy, prevailed on his colleagues to appropriate the whole to the original purpose of apprenticing out boys in the mercantile and trading departments.

IN this same year, 1759, he promoted a subscription for furnishing the British troops serving in Germany and America with useful articles of clothing, &c. suitable to the climates they were in. A part of the subscription, which amounted in the whole to seven thousand four hundred and six pounds, was reserved for the relief of the widows and orphans of such as were slain or died in the service; and this kind token of the attention, which their countrymen paid to the soldiers, contributed much to animate them in the transactions of this year, so glorious to the English nation.

VAILS GIVING.

ABOUT this time Mr. Hanway set himself to oppose the absurd custom of *Vails Giving*, which had arrived at a very extravagant pitch, especially among the servants

servants of the great. This custom was detrimental to the true interests of the rich as well as the poor; for the man of wealth must lose much of the pleasure of life, if he is deprived of the society of those whose science enables them to instruct or amuse, but whose circumstances prevent them from communicating their knowledge at a repeated expence to themselves. It was Mr. Hanway who answered the kind reproach of a friend in a high station for not coming oftener to dine with him, by saying, “*Indeed I cannot afford it.*”

In 1762, he published “*Eight Letters to the Duke of——,*” on this custom. The nobleman here meant was the Duke of Newcastle. The letters are written in that humorous style, which is most attractive of general notice, and was best-adapted to the subject. If I am not mistaken, it was Sir Timothy Waldo that first put him on this plan: Sir Timothy had dined with the Duke, and on his leaving the house, was contributing to the support and insolence of a train of servants who

who lined the hall ; and at last put a crown into the hand of the Cook, who returned it, saying, “ Sir, I do not take silver”—*Don't you indeed?* said the worthy Knight, putting it in his pocket, *then I do not give gold.* Among the ludicrous circumstances in Mr. Hanway's letters, is one which happened to himself. He was paying the servants of a respectable friend for a dinner, which their master had invited him to, one by one as they appeared : “ Sir, your “ great coat :” *a shilling*—“ Your hat :” *a shilling*—“ Stick :” *shilling*—“ Um-“ brella :” *shilling*—“ Sir, your gloves :” *Why, friend, you may keep the gloves ; they are not worth a shilling.*

By degrees this odious custom became less fashionable, and it received its last stroke from Mr. Garrick's excellent farce of High Life below Stairs, which exposed to the opulent, a part of their domestic œconomy that they had not before examined.

PRESERVATION OF INFANT PARISH
POOR.

THE progression that I had laid down for myself in this relation, and which, though irregular, was the most intelligible that I could form, now brings me to an instance of Mr. Hanway's perseverance and philanthropy, the most arduous and splendid of all his public undertakings. I mean the *Preservation of the Lives of the Infant Parish Poor, within the Bills of Mortality*. It was not supported by a subscription, the publication of which encourages an increase of benefactors, and adds to the self-complacency attendant on a charitable act, the justifiable reflection that it will be made known. Alone and unassisted, he explored the then miserable and unhealthy habitations of the parish poor in these crowded cities, exposed his tender lungs to the pestilential air of the workhouse sick-wards, and procured a complete account of the interior management

ment of every workhouse in and near the metropolis. I feel myself incapable not only of doing justice to his labours in this work, but of expressing my own ideas of its excellence ; they only can form an adequate idea of it, who have had opportunities of knowing what devastation was made in the lives of parish infants before he exerted himself in their behalf, and comparing it with the present improved practice.

In the journey which he had taken to Paris, and through Holland, he had visited all the houses for the reception of the poor, particularly those of France, and noted whatever he thought might be adopted here with advantage. From the year 1757 to 1762, his principal employment was visiting the workhouses in these cities ; and as he found it impossible to work a complete reform all at once, he confined his attention to infants. He published his observations as they were made, in the hope of engaging his fellow citizens

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in the cause; but his accounts were so melancholy, that they were generally disbelieved: To enforce credit he hazarded making a host of enemies, and published all the particulars of the facts he had stated, giving the names of every parish officer, whatever was his rank in life, under whose hands many infants had died by neglect.

During the year 1765, in the workhouse of St. Clement Danes, one nurse, Mary Poole, had twenty-three children committed to her care, and on the twenty fifth of January 1766, eighteen were dead, two had been discharged, and three only remained alive.

Of seventy eight children received into the workhouse of the united parishes of St. Andrew, and St. George, Holborn, in the year 1765, sixty four were dead before 1766.

Of forty eight received into the workhouse of St. Luke, Middlesex, in 1764, for nurture, died within the year, thirty seven.

Of

Of nineteen received into the work-house of St. George, Middlesex, in 1765, died before 1766, sixteen.

In some populous parishes, not one child was living, of all that were received, in the course of twelve months.

These are a few of the alarming instances of the mortality of infants, which Mr. Hanway traced out. Wherever his general statements were disputed, he published a certificate signed with his name, mentioning the name of each particular infant, the day of its birth or admission, the time it lived, and the name of its nurse.

He likewise made a journey through the greatest part of England, to compare the mortality in the country workhouses with that of the metropolis, and was convinced that the great disproportion of deaths in these cities, was owing to the air of the workhouses being too confined and impure for the lungs of new-born infants. His next effort was to get all parish infants sent to the Foundling Hospital, and a great many were put under the care of the

guardians, and preserved. He had obtained an act of parliament in 1761, obliging every London parish to keep an annual register of all the infants received, discharged, and dead; and from these registers, which were directed to be published yearly by the company of parish clerks, he selected, from time to time, every thing that could tend to convince the public of the necessity of an alteration. He stemmed every opposition by stating facts, and at length, in 1766, after a perseverance hardly to be equalled, by his own exertions, and at his own sole expence, he obtained an act, 7. Geo. III. cap. 39, which directs, that, *all Parish Infants belonging to the Parishes within the Bills of Mortality, shall not be nursed in the Workhouses, but be sent to nurse a certain Number of Miles out of Town, until they are six Years old, under the Care of Guardians, to be elected triennially, for the express Purpose of taking Care of them.*

If I were to state the number of infants, whose lives appeared, by the registers of the

the next five years, to have been preserved by this act, or which are now preserved annually by it, I should, most probably, be disbelieved. The poor called it " the " act for keeping children alive ;" and thousands now living may impute their existence to the judicious interference of this good and sensible man. I think I now see him going from one workhouse to another in the morning, and from one member of parliament to another in the afternoon, for day after day, and year after year, with steady and unwearied patience, enduring every rebuff, answering every objection, and accommodating himself to every humour for the furtherance of his benevolent design, which he established at last, almost without assistance, and intirely at his own expence.

THE many useful and public spirited plans which Mr. Hanway had promoted, for the welfare of his fellow creatures, had now rendered his character most respectably popular. His disinterestedness, and the sincerity of his intentions were conspicuous to all. His name appeared to every proposal for the benefit of mankind, and brought with it more than his own benefaction; for people were assured that at least their bounty would be faithfully and carefully expended. He made his appearance at Court sometimes; but I have not heard, that either openly or privately he solicited a reward for his services, although he was now acquainted with some of those who had the dispensation of court favours. He was not however suffered to waste his little fortune entirely in the service of others: Five citizens of London, of whom the late Mr. *Hoare*, the banker, was one, waited on Lord Bute, the then minister, in a body; and in their own names, and
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the names of their fellow citizens, requested some notice might be taken of him; and on the 17th of July, 1762, he was appointed one of the commissioners for victualling the navy.

With the increase of income, which this appointment produced, he thought he might extend his acquaintance, and took a house in Red Lion Square, the principal rooms of which he furnished, and decorated with paintings and emblematical devices, in a style peculiar to himself. "I found," he was used to say, when speaking of these ornaments, "that my countrymen and women were not *au fait* in the art of conversation, I have therefore presented them with objects the most attractive that I could imagine, and such as cannot easily be examined without exciting amusing and instructive discourse—and when that fails, there are the cards."

THOUGHTS ON MUSIC.

IN 1765, Mr. Hanway published his “*Thoughts on Music*,” a work which he was induced to undertake, by his frequent attendance at the performances of the Academy of Antient Music. It must be confessed that he was unacquainted with his subject: He had not even a distant idea of harmony; and, as is the case, I believe, with all persons who have not the rudiments of the art, or at least that faculty which we call a good ear, he felt no music until, by hearing it several times, it became, in some measure, familiar to him. Mere sound, however, or amusement, was not his object. In his book he does not profess to speak much or learnedly on the theory of the art; but confines himself in a great measure to pointing out how it might be best conducted to encourage virtuous principles and assist the fervour of religious worship.

ON

ON Saturday the 18th of May, 1765, a fire happened at Montreal, in the province of Quebec, which, in three hours, consumed a fourth part of the city; one hundred and eight principal houses, inhabited by two hundred and fifteen families, with their merchandize, furniture, and apparel, to the amount of eighty-seven thousand five hundred and eighty pounds. The sufferers were a loyal obedient, and laborious people, and before this accident were recovering from the calamities of war. Mr. Thornton, Mr. Hanway, and Mr. Fowler Walker, as agents for the sufferers, petitioned the king in council for a brief, which they obtained, and collected thereon eight thousand four hundred and fifteen pounds.

A subscription was immediately begun, exclusive of the brief, and the amount transmitted to Montreal, chiefly in silver, with two fire engines, and a marble bust

of his present Majesty, to be set up in the town.

The very next year a dreadful fire broke out in Bridge Town, in Barbadoes, which consumed buildings and property to the amount of near one hundred thousand pounds. A subscription was opened, in which Mr. Hanway was a principal actor, and fourteen thousand eight hundred and eighty-six pounds were collected, and transmitted to a committee appointed at Barbadoes to distribute it to the unfortunate sufferers.

CHIMNEY SWEEPERS.

FROM the year 1766 to 1772, he was engaged in his official business, and in supporting the charitable institutions which he had founded or interested himself in, without attempting any new plan of consequence. In this year he first
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endeavoured to do something towards alleviating the miseries of young *chimney sweepers*. Besides the distresses of these helpless beings, which are open to general observation, such as a contortion of the limbs, and the prevention of their growth, they are liable to a disease peculiar to their occupation, now known by the name of the *chimney sweepers cancer*. Four children have been brought together into a workhouse, all afflicted with this dreadful and incurable disease.

The great difficulty in this humane undertaking was, what kind of relief could be afforded them. Mr. Hanway knew well that there must be some to perform the lowest offices of life, whose drudgery should contribute to the general conveniency; and that to give them even a tolerable education, instead of alleviating their misery, would add to its poignancy; but he considered that, however abject, they were still human beings, and intitled as such to the privileges of humanity. His first attempt was,

by binding them regularly as apprentices, to place them more effectually under the cognizance of the magistrate; and a subscription was promoted to defray the expence, and furnish them with clothes. A great many were bound, some masters were prosecuted for cruel behaviour to their boys; and no inconsiderable portion of misery was prevented.

In the year 1785 he renewed his representations in behalf of these miserable beings, and leave was given to bring in a bill for the future regulation of chimney sweepers young apprentices; and although death put an end to his exertions in their behalf, yet the bill afterwards passed into an act, which has in some degree softened the hardship of their condition.

These little urchins, unfortunately for themselves, perform their work many hours earlier than those who have the means of relieving them, are awake to witness their miseries. The men whom we see accompanying them are usually not regular chimney sweepers, but either pro-
cure

cure the boys of indigent or unfeeling parents, or hire them by the day, and return them in the evening to their masters. This is the way the business of chimney-sweeping is yet too frequently performed ; but there are some exceptions : The good sense, the humanity, the integrity, and the politeness of *Mr. Porter*, who, bred a chimney sweeper himself, can feel for the distresses of the poor boys, now that he is possessed of an independency, would do credit to any profession, or any situation in life.

ASSIZED BREAD.

IN 1773, he engaged in the question relative to *the most proper bread to be assized for general use*. He was the commissioner superintending the baking for the fleet ; and his chief end was to convince the public that the whitest bread was not the most nutritive. He proved that the whole produce of the grain, except only the outside hull, made the best

food; and that the London bread owed its colour not to nature, but to an artificial mixture. The late Dr. Fothergill gave his assistance, by a Treatise, tending to prove that the *fashionable* bread was an article of difficult digestion. The misfortune seems to be, that the Londoners will have their bread white, and as the dealers cannot afford to make it entirely of the fine parts of prime flour, they are driven to expedients to preserve the colour which hurts the quality, and renders it less favourable to health, particularly of infants.

SOLITUDE IN IMPRISONMENT.

IN 1775, Mr. Hanway endeavoured to procure some alteration in the police of these cities. His favourite plan was *Solitude in Imprisonment*, on the principle that the prisoner might become better by reflection, and could not grow worse by conversation with more experienced malefactors. This principle seems to meet the ideas of magistrates in general; it is adopted

adopted in many prisons with success ; and it may be hoped that the time is not far off, when the extreme severity of our criminal laws shall no longer render it impossible to execute them ; when rewards shall be offered to those who, by exerting themselves in punishing small offences, shall find it their interest to prevent, not encourage, the commission of capital crimes ; and when it shall not be necessary for prosecutors or juries to render the laws uncertain, by a humane but capricious lenity.

FEBRUARY 1776, Mr. Matthias, the British resident at Hamburg, acquainted the Earl of Suffolk, secretary of state, that there were several ships at that place, whose owners were willing to let them as transports, to be used in the war with America ; and the lords of the Admiralty directed the Victualling Board to send one of their commissioners to contract for the supply of provisions for the troops. Mr.

Han-

Hanway was now in his sixty-fourth year; yet he engaged himself to conduct this business, and went to Hamburg, and completed his embassy with the activity of a young man.

MISERICORDIA HOSPITAL.

ABOUT this time he formed a plan for an hospital, in the east end of the town, for the relief of persons afflicted with the venereal disease. A subscription was opened, and a house in Goodman's Fields taken. The institution continued some years under the name of the Misericordia Hospital; but, the subscriptions decreasing, the design was laid aside. He computed that one third of the number of those who, in the bills of mortality, are said to die of consumptions, fall victims in reality to the ravages of this loathsome disease, and the more deadly effects.

effects of ignorant and wicked persons to cure it.

MARITIME SCHOOL.

THE encouragement of seamen was an object never from Mr. Hanway's heart. Having by his constant attention brought the Marine Society to a respectable and permanent condition, he thought he should still add to the benefit of the service, by procuring a naval education for the sons of those brave officers, who might fall in defence of their country. To this end he framed the plan of the *Maritime School*, which he submitted to the late Earl Spencer, the Duke of Bolton, Lord Hawke, and Sir George Pococke, who approving the design, a subscription was opened, a house taken at Chelsea, and in March 1779 eleven scholars were admitted.

The annual subscription rose to eight hundred pounds. In 1782, the govern-

ment of Bombay sent over a subscription collected there, amounting to one thousand and seventy pounds. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland accepted the office of President on the death of Lord Hawke: the orphans of many deserving officers, particularly the gallant but unfortunate Captain Macartney, were received, and the institution, with an income equal to its expence, seemed likely to increase in splendour, and acquire stability; when an unlucky event took place, which, by sowing the seeds of animosity among some of the governors, in a few years greatly lessened the finances of the society, and a variety of circumstances concurring with this, the subscriptions decreased; and the school was discontinued.

NAVAL SCHOOLS.

ON the failure of this attempt, Mr. Hanway endeavoured to incorporate a seminary for naval instruction, with the plan of the Marine Society, which he hoped

hoped would in time be adopted by every county in the kingdom. He was so fully persuaded of the expediency of this design, that he tried every means to establish it; but the generality of the governors, although convinced that something might be done by the society in time of peace, towards preparing for war when it should happen, thought Mr. Hanway's plan too extensive to be adopted, and the business ended in fitting up a ship to lie on the Thames, where boys are harboured and taught the rudiments of Navigation, and are ready for any commander who demands them.

IN 1783, finding his health decline, he determined to resign his office at the victualling board, where he was now comptroller of accompts, which he did on the 2d of October that year, and upon his petition immediately received a grant of his whole salary by way of pension, for life. This favour he owed to the esteem
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which his Majesty, to whom he was personally known, entertained of him; excited by his various exertions in behalf of his country and mankind.

He was now released from his most material business; but did not think it would conduce to his happiness to lead an idle life: He engaged again in behalf of the chimney sweepers boys, and promoted, by every means in his power, the establishment of Sunday schools, which are now in a fair way to be adopted in every county in England.

He likewise promoted a subscription for the relief of the many black poor people, who wandered about the metropolis in extreme distress, and the lords of the Treasury seconded the design, by directing money, as far as 14l. a head, to be issued to the committee, to enable them to send the blacks to such places abroad as might be fixed on. After encountering many obstacles, about 300 Negroes were sent, properly accommodated with provisions and necessaries, to Africa, under the

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conduct of a person approved for that station. For a long time after it was very unusual to see any poor black persons, and they are now in less numbers than formerly. They were commonly brought by commanders of ships in the merchants service, for the purpose of navigating the vessels, and the purpose being answered, were left to shift for themselves, sometimes without money, recommendation, or food.

In the Summer of 1786, his health declined so visibly, that he thought it necessary to attend only to that. He had long felt the approach of a disorder in the bladder, which, increasing by degrees, caused a stranguary, and at length, on the 5th of September, 1786, put a period to a life spent almost entirely in the service of his fellow creatures.

It may truly be said of this good man, that nothing in his life became him better than his dying: During the progress of a tedious, and sometimes painful illness, he never once expressed the least impa-

impatience; but saw the approach of his dissolution without regret. When he grew so weak as to be confined to his bed, he requested his physicians to speak frankly, and without reserve of his disorder; and when convinced that he could not recover, he sent and paid all his tradesmen; took leave of his most intimate friends; dictated some letters to absent acquaintances; had the sacrament administered to him, and discoursed, with the most cheerful composure, of his affairs. His lungs, of which he had always been particularly careful, perhaps because they were originally weak, remained perfect to the last moment; and he expressed his satisfaction that his mind had never *wandered* or been *perplexed* throughout the whole of his illness. In the morning previous to his death, he said to an intimate friend, "I have no
 "uncomfortable reflections concerning my
 "approaching end; but I find the *vitæ*
 "vite so strong, that I think I shall not
 "take my leave of the world without a
 "sharp

" sharp struggle." To Mr. Blizzard, his surgeon, who attended his disorder with unceasing anxiety, he said, " If you think " it will be of service in your practice, " or to any one who may come after me, " I beg you will have my body opened : " I am willing to do as much good as is " possible."

The evening of the night on which he died, he desired to put on a fine ruffled shirt ; gave up his keys ; disposed of some trinkets, and had his will read to him. About midnight a coldness seized the extremities, which, however, was removed several times, and the circulation restored, by frictions, which he himself directed. The last time he bade his attendant rub his leg, on which the fatal chilness had seized, he uttered a sigh, which alarming the person, he ceased the friction a few moments ; the cold increased ; he was sensible of the immediate approach of his death : His lungs yet played with freedom : The last breath escaped him in the midst of a sentence, which began with the word " Christ ! "

Such

Such were the last moments of Jonas Hanway, Esq. and such, if the intellectual faculties are preserved, may be those of all who live like him. He prepared for death with as much cheerfulness as he would have prepared for a journey. It was his study to be always ready for the event, whenever it should happen, and he was careless about the time. The cause of his death appeared to be an induration of the prostate gland.

The attention which the gentlemen of the faculty paid to him in his last illness, deserves the most honourable mention, and shewed that they knew the value of the life they endeavoured to preserve: To the duty of a careful physician, they added the anxious wish of private friendship, and testified the sense they entertained of their loss, by the most unfeigned sorrow.

FROM

FROM the preceding narrative, the intelligent reader will, I conceive, be able to form a tolerably correct idea of the character of Mr. Hanway. He will see that the love of human kind was the prevailing passion in his breast, and that when once he had engaged in any office of general benevolence, no obstacles could stand before his active perseverance ; but such was the esteem which the public entertained of him, that I trust I shall be excused in attempting to describe him in the line of domestic life, and at those hours (they were very few) when public concerns did not engage his attention. The curiosity of future times may desire to know every circumstance relating to a man, to whom posterity will acknowledge itself so much indebted.

Mr. Hanway in his person was of the middle size, of a thin spare habit, but well shaped ; his limbs were fashioned with the nicest symmetry. In the latter years of his life he stooped very much, and when he walked, found it conduce
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to ease to let his head incline towards one side ; but when he went first to Russia at the age of thirty, his face was full and comely, and his person altogether such as obtained for him the appellation of the “ *Handsome Englishman.* ”

His features were small, but without the insignificance which commonly attends small features. His countenance was interesting, sensible, and calculated to inspire reverence. His blue eyes had never been brilliant ; but they expressed the utmost humanity and benevolence ; and when he spoke, the animation of his countenance and the tone of his voice were such as seemed to carry conviction with them even to the mind of a stranger. When he endeavoured to soothe distress, or point out to any wretch who had strayed, the comforts of a virtuous life, he was peculiarly impressive ; and every thing that he said had an air of consideration and sincerity.

In his dress, as far as was consistent with his ideas of health and ease, he accom-

commodated himself to the prevailing fashion. As it was frequently necessary for him to appear in polite circles, on unexpected occasions, he usually wore dress clothes, with a large French bag: His hat, ornamented with a gold button, was of a size and fashion to be worn as well under the arm as on the head. When it rained, a small *parapluie* defended his face and wig. Thus he was always prepared to enter into any company without impropriety, or the appearance of negligence. His dress for set public occasions was a suit of rich dark brown; the coat and waistcoat lined throughout with ermine, which just appear'd at the edges; and a small gold hilted sword. As he was extremely susceptible of cold, he wore flannel under the linings of all his clothes, and usually three pair of stockings.

The precarious state of his health when he arrived in England from Russia, made it necessary for him to use the utmost caution; and his perseverance in following

the advice of the medical practitioners was remarkable. After Dr. Lieberkn, physician to the king of Prussia, had recommended milk as a proper diet to restore his strength, he made it the chief part of his food for thirty years; and though it at first disagreed with him, he persisted in trying it under every preparation that it was capable of, till it agreed with his stomach. By this rigid attention and care, his health was established, his lungs acquired strength and elasticity; and it is probable he would have lived several years longer, if the disorder which was the immediate cause of his death had left him to the gradual decay of nature.

He knew that exercise was necessary to him, and he loved it. He was not one of those who had rather take a doze than a walk; and though he had commonly his carriage with him when he went abroad, he yet walked nearly as much as he rode, and with such a pace, that he used to say he was always more incommoded in

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the streets by those he passed, than by them who overtook him.

His mind was the most active that it is possible to conceive; always on the wing, and never appearing to be weary. To sit still, and endeavour to give rest to the thought, was a luxury to which he was a perfect stranger: he dreaded nothing so much as inactivity, and that modern disorder which the French, who perhaps feel it not so much as ourselves, distinguish by the name of *ennui*.

He rose in the summer at four or five, and in the winter at seven: Having always business before him, he was every day employed till the time of retiring to rest, and, when in health, was commonly asleep within two minutes after his lying down in bed.

Writing was his favourite employment, or rather amusement; and when the number of his literary works is considered, and that they were the produce only of those hours, which he was able to snatch from public business, an idea may be

formed of his application. He wrote a fine flowing hand to the last, when he pleased, without spectacles; and he had always one or two of the clerks belonging to his office, or to some of the charitable institutions in which he was engaged, to live in his house and assist him. His mode was to dictate for as many hours together as he could spare, and afterwards correct the copy, which was again wrote out and corrected, perhaps several times.

To write a fine hand very fast is a qualification which many persons, not defective in abilities, do not attain; but to write very well, and with strict orthography from the verbal dictation of another person, without hesitation, will be found difficult by every person who tries it. Yet all this Mr. Hanway required, and with it the utmost dispatch. This made it necessary for him to choose his assistants, at an early age, whilst the mind is flexible, and to have them live in his house, and take pains to instruct them. He had a happy method of conveying in-

instruction; but the close application which he required at all hours, his impatience, and the natural turn of his temper, seldom satisfied, not infrequently petulant, and expressing his disapprobation sometimes in terms which had the appearance of ill nature, were the cause that but few of the youths he took under his care remained with him any length of time. If by attention, activity, and perseverance, and a judicious self-commendation, not too frequently assumed, they could go on till they gained his confidence, he seldom failed to make them alert, ready at figures and writing, and honest men. One of the two pamphlets on bread, which contains ninety foolscap pages, 200 law sheets, I wrote from his dictation, in one day before dinner, although there are several calculations in it of the proportionate produce of grain, when ground, dressed, and baked.

By leaving his work to transact his ordinary business, and afterwards recurring to it with new ideas, all his literary labours

are defective in the arrangement of the matter, and appear to have too much of the miscellaneous in their composition. The original idea is sometimes left for the pursuit of one newly started, and either taken up again, when the mind of the reader has almost lost it, or it is totally deserted. Yet those who are judges of literary composition, say that his language is well calculated to have the effect he desired on the reader, and impress him with the idea that the author was a man of inflexible integrity, and wrote from the pure dictates of the heart. It is plain and unornamented, without the appearance of art, or the affectation of singularity. Its greatest defect (say they), is a want of conciseness; its greatest beauty, an unaffected and genuine simplicity. He spoke French and Portuguese, and understood the Rus and modern Perfic imperfectly: Latin he had been taught at school; but had not much occasion to cultivate it after he entered into life.

In his natural disposition he was cheerful but serene. He enjoyed his own joke, and applauded the wit of another; but never descended from a certain dignity which he thought indispensably necessary. His experience furnished him with some anecdote or adventure, suitable to every turn the discourse could take; and he was always willing to communicate it. If in the hour of conviviality the discourse took a turn, not consistent with the most rigid chastity, he was not the first to reprove or take offence; but any attack on religion, especially in the company of young people, was sure to meet his most pointed disapprobation.

In conversation he was easy of access, and gave readily to every one the best answer which occurred: But not fond of much speaking himself, he did not always bear with patience, though commonly with silence, the forward and importunate; them with whom every man, and every thing, is either the very best or the very worst possible; who exemplify, for the in-

struction of their auditors, those common ideas which it is not possible could escape them; and think loudness, and the gesticulation of unnecessary warmth, can supply the place of argument and politeness. He spoke better in public than was to be expected of one who wrote so much, and kept pointedly to his subject; though he was sometimes seduced into an eulogium on the usefulness of the *merchant*, a character for which he entertained great reverence.

Although he himself never drank wine undiluted with water, he partook willingly of the joys of the table, and that felicity of conversation, which a moderate application to the bottle excites among men of parts; but he knew the just value of this conviviality, and how apt the love of company is to infatuate young people.

Mr. Hanway, although never married himself, was yet an advocate for marriage, and recommended it to all young people. He thought it the most effectual restraint on licentiousness; and that an increase of unhappiness

unhappiness was by no means the natural consequence of an increase of domestic cares. A "local habitation," with the society of a sensible woman, the choice of unbiassed affection, he esteemed as the most engaging persuasive to the love of order and œconomy; without which he thought life, in whatever station, must be disjointed, and perturbed, and unhappy. The lady who engaged his first affection was uncommonly handsome; and it is probable he was prevented from marrying only by his failing to obtain her, and the unsettled manner in which the first years of his life were spent; for he loved the society of women, and in the parties which frequently breakfasted at his house, the ladies usually made the greater portion of the company.

In his transactions with the world, he was always open, candid, and sincere: Whatever he said might be depended on with implicit confidence. He adhered to the strict truth, even in the *manner* of his relation, and no brilliancy of thought

could induce him to vary from the fact; but although so frank in his own proceedings, he had seen too much of life to be easily deceived by others; and he did not often place a confidence that was betrayed. He did not, however, think the world so degenerate as is commonly imagined: "And if I did," he used to say, "I would not let it appear; for nothing can tend so effectually to make a man wicked, or to keep him so, as a marked suspicion."

With all this goodness Mr. Hanway had a certain singularity of thought and manners, the consequence of his living the greater part of his life in foreign countries, and never having been married. He was not by any means an inattentive observer of the little forms of politeness; but as he had studied them in various realms, selecting those which he approved, his politeness differed from that of other people. His conversation had an air of originality in it that was very pleasing, far different from that of some very polite circles, in

which a whole evening may be passed in perpetual chat, without a single idea being started that has not had its round before.

There is, perhaps, more originality of expression among the lower orders of men than in polite circles, where every sentence is weighed in the mind before utterance is given to it; and a new thought never escaped Mr. Hanway. In one of his walks, he was met by a man much inebriated, who approached him in so irregular a direction, that it might have been concluded he had business on both sides the way. Mr. Hanway stopped when he came up to him to give him his choice which he would take; but the man stood as still as his intoxication would permit him, without attempting to pass on either side. After viewing each other a moment, says Mr. H. " My friend, you seem as if you had " drank rather too much :" to which the man replied, " You seem as if you had " eat rather too little."

Mr. Hanway, at another time, had hired a coachman, and was telling him the duty he required, concluding, "you will attend "with the rest of my family every evening at prayers."—"Prayers, Sir!" says the descendant of Jehu. "Why, did "you never say your prayers?" asked Mr. Hanway. "I have never lived in a praying family." "But have you any objection to say your prayers?" "No, "Sir, I've no objection—I hope you'll "consider it in my wages."

During the progress of Mr. Hanway's exertions in favour of chimney sweepers, he addressed a little urchin, after he had swept a chimney in his own house; "Suppose now I give you a shilling." "God Almighty bless your honour, and thank you!" "And what if I give you a fine tie-wig to wear on May-day, which is just at hand?" Ah, bless you honour! "my master won't let me go out on May-day."—"No: why not?" "He says its low life."

To one of his books written for the use of the poor he prefixed a description of the frontispiece; in which he says to the gentle reader—“Here you see the grafts ‘grow and the sheep feed.’”—The Reviewers fastened on this unfortunate sentence. “We remember,” said they (I quote from memory after a lapse of several years), “a miller who quitted his trade to ‘take a public house, and sent for a ‘painter to paint him the sign of the ‘mill.’ ‘I must have the miller looking out of the window.’ It shall be done, said the painter. ‘But I was never seen to be idle: You must make ‘him pop his head in if any one looks at ‘him.’” This also the artist promised; and brought home the sign. “‘Tis all well; but where’s the miller?” “Sir, he popped his head in when you looked.”—Even so, said the Reviewers, when we look on the benevolent author’s frontispiece, the grafts ceases to grow, and the sheep leave off feeding.

Among

Among the ornaments of his withdrawing room, were some which deserve to be mentioned, because they help to illustrate his character. He had procured portraits of *six* of the most celebrated beauties, one of which was of the actress *Adrienne le Couvreur*, who died in the arms of Voltaire. These portraits, being all of the same size, he employed an ingenious workman to attach together, by a ribbon curiously carved and gilded, which extended several feet, so as to admit of their hanging in an uniform manner. On the smooth parts of this ribbon, which were glazed, were written some lines in praise of beauty ; and over all was a statue representing Humility. At the bottom hung a mirror, just sufficiently convex to reflect a lady who looked in it of the size of the portraits. Round the frame of the mirror was painted.

“ Wert thou, my daughter, fairest of the *seven* ;
 “ Think on the progress of devouring Time,
 “ And pay thy tribute to Humility.”

On the opposite side of the room was a picture, representing the tomb of Pierre Mignard, painter to the king of France; and underneath a drawing of a country church yard, with a venerable old man seemingly in discourse with a young one. At a distance a young woman was seen praying near a grave; and on the side of a tomb, on which the old man's hand was laid, were inscribed some lines of poetry suited to the scene.

Mr. Hanway appeared to have in every action of his life, the idea of his end. He examined his own conduct with the same degree of severity, which men too often adopt in their scrutiny into the conduct of others, and always considered that the time would come, and might not be far off, when he should reflect with sorrow on every bad action of his life. There are many very good men, who, knowing that death is inevitable, endeavour to banish from their mind the awful thought; but Mr. Hanway seemed to derive a melancholy pleasure in indulging the idea. Of the effects

effects of this I proceed to a remarkable instance: He caused the following words to be inscribed on a large plate of brass enamelled, so contrived as to slide on rollers, and form the back of a wardrobe, and lock in a secret manner. At the top of the plate was painted, on the left side, himself in an infant state, and on the right on a death bed, and underneath the lines;

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I BELIEVE THAT MY REDEEMER LIVETH,
AND THAT I ALSO SHALL RISE FROM
THE GRAVE.

JONAS HANWAY, Esq.

WHO, TRUSTING IN THAT GOOD PROVIDENCE,
WHICH SO VISIBLY GOVERNS THE WORLD,
PASSED THROUGH A VARIETY OF FORTUNES WITH
PATIENCE.

LIVING THE GREATEST PART OF HIS DAYS
IN FOREIGN LANDS, RULED BY ARBITRARY POWER,
HE RECEIVED THE DEEPER IMPRESSION
OF THE HAPPY CONSTITUTION OF HIS OWN COUNTRY;

WHILST
THE PERSUASIVE LAWS CONTAINED IN THE
NEW TESTAMENT,
AND THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF HIS OWN DEPRAVITY,
SOFTENED HIS HEART TO A SENSE
OF THE VARIOUS WANTS OF HIS
FELLOW CREATURES.

READER,

INQUIRE NO FURTHER;

THE LORD HAVE MERCY ON HIS SOUL AND THINE!

APPREHENSIVE OF THE TOO PARTIAL REGARD OF HIS
FRIENDS; AND ESTEEMING PLAIN TRUTH ABOVE THE
PROUDEST TROPHIES OF MONUMENTAL FLATTERY; AT
THE AGE OF FIFTY-ONE HE CAUSED THIS PLATE AND
INSCRIPTION TO BE MADE.

His

His religion was pure, rational, fervent, and sincere; equally distant from a cold inanimate languor, and the phantasies of supernatural intelligence: It was his resource constantly in trouble, as was writing at the moment of imagination. He believed the truths revealed in the gospel, with the most unvarying confidence; but shewed no austerity to persons who affected to set the dictates of nature and experience in opposition to them, if they appeared to doubt with a willingness to be convinced. He considered religion as the most effectual restraint on bad actions: In his writings on the subject, he endeavours to inculcate the necessity of attending at the public offices, particularly that of the Lord's Supper; but carefully avoids entering into controversies on matters not necessary to salvation. The only religious argument that he engaged in, was to convince the common people that they ought not to be deterred from partaking of the sacrament, by St. Paul's caution to the Corinthians, and that the word used by the apostle

apostle descriptive of the punishment of those who partook wantonly, could not be applied to *them* in the vulgar translation, of “eating and drinking *damnation*;” but meant a temporary and expiable punishment; and the learned, I believe, agree that this construction of the text is the true one*.

He knew well how much the happiness of mankind is dependant on honest industry, and received a pleasure, but faintly described in words, when any of the objects of his charity cleanly apparelled, and with cheerful and contented countenances, came to pay their respects to him. He treated them as his acquaintances, entered into their concerns with a paternal affection, and let them know that on any real emergency they might apply with confidence to him. It

* Ο γὰρ ἴσθιντο καὶ πίνων ἀναξίως, ΚΡΙΜΑ ταῦτα ἴσθιντο καὶ πίνει, μὴ δικηρίων τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου.

Nam edens et bibens indigne, *judicium* sibi ipsi manducat et bilit, non dijudicans corpus Domini.

was this, rather than the largeness of his gifts, that endeared him so much to the common people : He never walked out but was followed by the good wishes, silent or expressed, of some to whom he had afforded relief. To meet the eye of the person he had served, was to him the highest luxury ; and no man enjoyed it oftener. His own misfortunes I believe never caused him to shed tears ; and if the miseries of others had that effect, which was very rare indeed, he was particularly careful to conceal it : Yet the sight of a regiment of soldiers under exercise, of the charity children in their annual assembly at St. Paul's, the Marine Society's boys marching to join their ships, or in procession, were objects which he could not resist.

Of his charity, it is not easy to convey an adequate idea : It was of that prudent and considerate kind, which is of the most substantial benefit. It did not consist merely in giving ; for though his heart was ever open to the complaint of the unfor-

unfortunate, it required something more than mere supplication to obtain his assistance. To him that had once deceived him by fictitious distress he was inexorable ; but when real misery, the effect of accident or inevitable misfortune, came in his way, he seldom failed to afford substantial relief, which he was enabled to do ; for he had the distribution every year of more than his own whole income amounted to.

It is not the love of money, so much as the love of ease, which keeps close the coffers of the wealthy : Several years ago Mr. Hanway commissioned the writer of these sheets to distribute a sum of money, as far as fifty pounds, the gift of a lady, among the really deserving prisoners at that time confined in the prisons of the metropolis. How did I figure to myself the pleasure I should experience in relieving the distresses of the wretched, in setting the hand of the industrious to work, and giving food and vigour to him who drooped under the gloom of despair !

but

but I soon found that there was not the distress in our prisons which I had conceived ; and that where it really was, there was not the greatest appearance of it. Great part of the money was brought back ; and although the precaution of buying and distributing the necessaries of life was taken, yet some of those necessaries were bartered for the means of intoxication ; and I was invited to drink brandy, the produce of the money I had bestowed in coals and candles, in a prison, whence all spirituous liquors are supposed to be banished by the strictest of our laws.

But a few unworthy objects never alienated Mr. Hanway's affection for the really deserving. These he endeavoured to find out in their solitary habitations, with a most laborious perseverance, studied their wants, and contrived the method of giving the most effectual relief. In one of his searches among the mansions of the poor, he found a man of the name of *Bermingham* in extreme distress ; and which he soon perceived to be the effect
of

of his ingenuity and simplicity. He was an engraver, a painter on glass, a modeller, a carver, the inventor of piercing fan-sticks, a turner in metals ; and worked with such an enthusiasm of zeal, that he would have starved amidst wealth, rather than leave his inventions to provide food. His goods, even his bed, were seized for rent ; but he cared not if they left him the materials of his last discovery. His talents, and native simplicity, had recommended him to Frederick Prince of Wales, who appointed him his engraver, with an annual pension ; but when this failed, with the death of his patron, he was reduced to the extreme of misery. Mr. Hanway at first endeavoured to confine his ingenuity to one line, and make it tend to his pecuniary advantage ; but finding this impossible, he applied for, and procured, a pension of forty pounds a year from his Majesty. On this the poor artist was persuaded to retire from his labours into the country ; but before he had enjoyed, or rather suffered the leisure of

of retirement one year, he was found drowned in a water near his residence.

When once Mr. Hanway had engaged in a public charitable undertaking, he omitted nothing that could possibly tend to its promotion ; no department was beneath him ; his eye pervaded the whole system, and, like that of Providence, never slept whilst any thing remained to be done to further his benevolent designs. He thought every thing great which concerned the cause of humanity. The love of his fellow creatures shewed itself in every action of his life. Blessed with an elegant sufficiency, he separated what was within his idea of enough, and looked upon the rest as appropriated, as a reserve to satisfy demands whenever they should be properly made. Distress, not incurred by profligacy, was to his heart a claim of relationship ; and he seemed to esteem himself, what he most emphatically was, one of the chief instruments of Providence, to assist the indigent, instruct the ignorant, to reclaim the guilty, and keep the good from

from being discontented with their station in life.

He loved to indulge that pleasing sensation which every good man feels, when, retired from the busy world into the fields, resigned and alone he can contemplate the bounty of the Creator in his surrounding works, and pour forth his heart, undisturbed, and unnoticed, save by that Power which he with reason conceives to be present and attending to this grateful effusion of the soul. The sensation I endeavour to describe is best excited by reflection on some good action lately done ; and surely no one ever experienced it more frequently or more ardently than this benevolent man, who literally went about doing good.

With such a character as this he could not fail of acquiring respect ; and indeed nothing can more clearly evince the esteem which men entertained for him, than the sorrow they expressed at his death. A long train of friends followed his hearse, and assisted in paying the last mournful

duties to the remains of a man they so tenderly loved whilst living.

His remains, at his own desire, were buried in the vault under the new church at Hanwell, the first deposited there. The property he left at his death, which did not amount to two thousand pounds, he bequeathed, except a few legacies as tokens of remembrance, to sundry orphans and poor persons, whom he had befriended in his lifetime; among these is *Mercy Draper*, whose musical powers had oft excited his tenderest thoughts whilst she was at the Foundling, and whose unfortunate state of mind awakened his warmest friendship.

Such is the feeble attempt which I have made to delineate the character of him whom I revered as a patron, and esteemed as the friend and adviser of my early youth; and I hope it will be read with a portion of that spirit which has actuated my mind from the hour when I first took up my pen.

Since

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Since his death, a subscription has been opened to defray the expence of a monument to his memory, to be erected in Westminster Abbey, which is now completed.

K 2

The

May 2, 1798.

The work, of which the foregoing is an abstract, was written in 1786, soon after Mr. Hanway's death; at a time when it may be supposed my respect was at the highest. Twelve years have since elapsed, a period sufficient to correct any false impressions, yet I think if I were now, for the first time, to sit down to a delineation of his character (although the writing might probably have fewer faults) it would not be in terms less favourable to his memory. I believe many of his remaining friends entertain similar ideas; and surely he must deserve the character of a good man, since nothing has been alledged against him but that he differed from the rest of mankind only in a few singularities; and more especially when it is considered that he had never been married, and that the greater part of his life was spent in foreign countries, and no inconsiderable portion in situa-

tions unfavourable for the observation of fashions.

Had it pleased heaven to extend his life to the present day, he would not have failed to exert his best powers to alleviate the distress of the poor in times of scarcity, to soften the rigour of war, and to counteract that spirit of irreligion and false philosophy which has lately been instilled with such mischievous industry into young minds.---This Providence has not thought proper to decree; but I hope a description of his character, at a price adapted to general circulation, may have some good effects after his decease. If the spirits of good men have the power of observing the transactions of the world they have left, and there is nothing seen here which appears to me to contradict the idea, his cannot, I trust, be displeased at my humble effort to describe him, as he was while among us.

The following stanzas, written by an ingenious and truly poetical author, are inserted here with his permission.

AND thou, blest Hanway! long thy country's prayer,
Exulting now in kindred worlds above,
Co-heir of HOWARD! deign the Muse to hear,
Though Angels greet thee with a Brother's love.

Far though remov'd from this diminish'd earth,
A Crown of Glory beaming on thy brow,
The God who fix'd it there—to note thy worth,
Bids the rapt lyre with all thy spirit glow.

Warm in the way, behold what myriads come,
While tears of ecstasy and anguish flow;
Their blended incense pouring on thy tomb,
To mark an Empire's joy, an Empire's woe..

Close to thy HOWARD—O congenial shade!
On the pure Column shall thy bust be plac'd;
Though deep in ev'ry bosom is pourtray'd
Those holy records Time shall ne'er eraze.

The generous plan that PUBLIC VIRTUE draws,
The fair design that CHARITY imparts,
The Genius kindling in RELIGION's cause,
Cherish their Champion in our faithful hearts.

At HANWAY's bust the MAGDALENE shall kneel,,

A chasteñ'd votary of Compassion's dome *,

With pious awe the holiest ardours feel,

And bleſs the Founder of her peaceful home.

And oh, Philanthropy ! thy heaven-rear'd fane *

Shall oft avow the good man's zeal divine,

When bounty leads a poor and orphan train

To clasp their little arms round HANWAY's shrine.

Transcendent energies of grace sublime,

Whose magic goodness work'd with double power,

Cradled the outcast babe who knew not crime,

And bade the sinner turn and blush no more.

Ah, full of honours as of years, farewell !

Thus o'er thy ashes shall Britannia sigh ;

Each age, each sex, thy excellence shall tell,

Which taught the young to live, the old to die !!

* The Magdalene House and Foundling Hospital.

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A

L I S T

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